DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 327 736 CE 057 132

AUTHOR Nickse, Ruth S.
TITLE Family and Intergenerational Literacy Programs: An Update of "The Noises of Literacy." Information Series No. 342.
INSTITUTION ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, Columbus, Ohio.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE 90
CONTRACT RI88062005
NOTE 91p.; For a related document, see ED 308 415.
AVAILABLE FROM Publications, Center on Education and Training for Employment, 1900 Kenny Road, Columbus, OH 43210-1090 (order no. IN342: $8.75).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses - ERIC Information Analysis Products (071)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Basic Education; *Adult Literacy; Child Development; Corporate Education; Cultural Differences; Elementary Education; *Family Programs; Federal Legislation; *Intergenerational Programs; Learning Theories; Library Extension; *Literacy Education; Parent Child Relationship; Parent Education; *Parent Influence; *Parents as Teachers; Preschool Education; Young Children
IDENTIFIERS *Family Literacy

ABSTRACT

Family and intergenerational literacy programs provide an opportunity to combine the agendas of adult basic skills improvement and literacy development in children. This overview of practice in family and intergenerational literacy programs identifies trends, issues, and concerns and offers recommendations. The first chapter presents background information including definitions and purposes for family and intergenerational programs. It describes the sponsorship of programs and the motivations that justify program development. The next chapter describes research from the fields of adult and emergent literacy, cognitive science, early childhood education, and family systems theory. Chapter 3 details programs in five sectors: adult basic education, libraries, family English literacy, preschool and elementary education, and corporate programs. The fourth chapter presents a typology for classification of family and intergenerational literacy programs based on the mode of program intervention and the target population that receives the services. Advantages and disadvantages of four program types are presented: (1) Direct Adults-Direct Children; (2) Indirect Adults-Indirect Children; (3) Direct Adults-Indirect Children; and (4) Indirect Adults-Direct Children. Examples of specific programs, critical research questions, and recommendations are provided. The document concludes with 113 references and an appendix detailing 12 programs classified according to the typology presented earlier. (SK)

Information Series No. 342

FAMILY AND INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAMS: AN UPDATE OF "THE NOISES OF LITERACY"

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1990

FUNDING INFORMATION

Project Title:	ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education
Contract Number:	RI88062005
Act under Which Administered:	41 USC 252 (15) and P.L. 92-318
Source of Contract:	Office of Educational Research and Improvement U.S. Department of Education Washington, DC 20208
Contractor:	Center on Education and Training for Employment The Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio 43210-1090
Executive Director:	Ray D. Ryan
Disclaimer:	This publication was prepared pursuant to a contract with the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Points of view or opinions do not, therefore, necessarily represent official U.S. Department of Education position or policy.
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FOREWORD

The Educational Resources Information Center Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education (ERIC/ACVE) is 1 of 16 clearinghouses in a national information system that is funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), U.S. Department of Education. This publication was developed to fulfill one of the functions of the clearinghouse--interpreting the literature in the ERIC database. The paper should be of interest to adult education practitioners, administrators, and researchers; policy makers; and community literacy program personnel.

ERIC/ACVE would like to thank Ruth S. Nickse for her work in the preparation of this paper. Dr. Nickse is President of Nickse Associates, consultants in adult basic education and workplace and family literacy to private and public agencies. She previously served as Associate Professor at Boston University, where she founded the Family Learning Center, an urban storefront intergenerational literacy center, and Collaborations for Literacy, a model college work-study intergenerational literacy tutoring program.

The information about family and intergenerational literacy programs was difficult to locate. The material in this study was extrapolated by the investigator from written materials and program reports. The information was elaborated upon in telephone conversations with key sources working in the area of family and intergenerational literacy. The investigator thanks the following for their assistance in the preparation of this report: Elsa Auerbach, English Family Literacy Project, University of Massachusetts, Boston; Page Bristow, International Reading Association, Newark, Delaware; Deborah Brown, Division of Adult Education, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C.; Janet Brown, Project TURN, PLAN, Inc., Washington, D.C.; Suzanne Carothers, New York City Adult Literacy Initiative; Ginette Daniels, Nissan Family Learning Centers, Nissan Corporation, Los Angeles, California; Jerri Darling, Work in America Institute, Inc., Scarsdale, New York; Sharon Darling, National Center for Family Literacy, Louisville, Kentucky; David Dickinson, Department of Education, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts; Elizabeth Hastings, Family English Literacy Project, The NETWORK, Andover, Massachusetts; Jeanne Heberle PACE, Kentucky State Department of Education; Virginia Heland, Reading Is Fundamental, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.; Barbara Humes, OERI; Susan Imel, ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education; James Kenyon, Chrysler Corporation, Highland Park, Michigan; Karen Leibold, Stride Rite Corporation, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Mary Mahoney, Family English Literacy Programs, Office of Bilingual and Minority Languages Affairs, U.S. Department of Education; Paul Kiely, California State Libraries, California Literacy Campaign, Sacramento; Mike Fox, Project PLAN, Washington, D.C.; Shelly Quezada, Massachusetts Board of Library Commissioners, Boston; Heather Wise, Harvard Family Project, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Mary Seibles, Division of Adult Education and Literacy, U.S. Department of Education; Trish Skapston, OERI; Carol Shaffer, Division of Libraries, State Education Department, Albany, New York; Robert Zager, Work in America Institute, Inc., Scarsdale, New York; and Ron Solorzano,

Educational Testing Service, Pasadena, California. For preparation of the manuscript, the author thanks Bob Balluffi, Tracy Olcott, and Sue Spielman.

ERIC/ACVE also acknowledges the following people for their critical review of the manuscript: Meta Potts, Director, Adult Learning Services, National Center for Family Literacy; Sandra Van Fossen, Deputy Director, Wider Opportunities for Women; Connie Ackerman, Education Consultant, Ohio Department of Education; and Dianne Rothenberg, Associate Director, ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education.

Publication development was coordinated by Susan Imel. Sandra Kerka edited the manuscript, and Janet Ray served as word processor operator.

Ray D. Ryan
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Family and intergenerational literacy programs provide an opportunity to combine agendas of mutual importance: adult basic skills improvement and literacy development in children. This report is an overview of practice in family and intergenerational literacy programs, with several purposes: to report their development as one promising approach to the problem of illiteracy in the nation; to identify trends, issues, and concerns; and to offer recommendations for further research and development. As a theoretical contribution, the report presents a typology of four generic program models for program categorization and identification, discusses advantages and disadvantages of each, and provides program examples.

The audience for this work is broad and includes state and local education agency personnel, professional association personnel, advisory groups, policy makers, legislators, funders, program administrators and staff who work in programs, and those who are interested in family education in many settings in the public and private sector, at the local, state, and national levels.

Because family and intergenerational literacy is an emerging practice in education, the report is based on literature and information from several fields and many sources including program reports, books and articles, and personal communications with key informants. This publication updates and expands upon a prior study by the author, which was funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (Nickse 1989).

The first chapter presents general background information including definitions and purposes for family and intergenerational programs. It describes the sponsorship of programs and the motivations that justify program development.

The next chapter describes the research base that underlies the practice, citing research from the fields of adult and emergent literacy, cognitive science, early childhood education, and family systems theory.

Chapter 3 details programs in five parallel but rarely convergent sectors: adult basic education, libraries, family English literacy; preschool and elementary education, and corporate programs. Overviews of each sector, activities, and impact information are included.

The fourth chapter presents a typology for classification of family and intergenerational literacy programs based on two critical dimensions: the mode of program intervention and the target population that receives the services. Advantages and disadvantages of four generic program types are presented:

- Direct Adults-Direct Children
- Indirect Adults-Indirect Children
- Direct Adults-Indirect Children
- Indirect Adults-Direct Children

Examples of specific programs are provided, and critical questions for systematic investigation are posed.

The last chapter includes recommendations to support family and intergenerational literacy programs. The paper concludes with references and an appendix containing 12 program descriptions classified according to the typology presented earlier.

Information on family and intergenerational literacy may be found in the ERIC system using the following descriptors: Adult Basic Education, *Adult Literacy, Child Development, Corporate Education, Cultural Differences, Elementary Education, *Family Programs, Federal Legislation, *Intergenerational Programs, Learning Theories, Library Extension, *Literacy Education, Parent Child Relationship, Parent Education, *Parent Influence, *Parents as Teachers, Preschool Education, Young Children. Asterisks indicate particularly relevant descriptors.

"I didn't know literacy would be so noisy!"
(quotation from a professional librarian).

THE CONTEXT OF FAMILY AND INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY

This publication has several purposes: to report on the practice of family and intergenerational literacy and its development as one promising approach to the problem of illiteracy in the nation, to present a typology of generic program models and a discussion of their key components with examples from practice, and to offer recommendations for further research and development. It identifies issues and concerns and alerts readers to the potential of this new approach to educational service delivery.

Family and intergenerational literacy programs are an emerging practice in education and a new area for research and development. The novelty is very exciting, but it poses particular problems in writing this overview, which is limited as time and space permit, given the proliferation of programs and the many agencies and organizations involved in separate efforts. There is no centralized source for information about the topic. Much activity is at the program level and has not yet been published. However, there are major activities sponsored by agencies and organizations to promote the concept. The programs surveyed in this report are sponsored publicly by federal programs in adult basic education, bilingual education, early childhood and elementary school education, and libraries, and privately through organizations and the corporate sector. In some instances and with increasing frequency, public and private partnerships sponsor family and intergenerational literacy programs.

This publication necessarily focuses on trends rather than on specific programs, and it synthesizes information found in the existing literature from many different sources. It presents current discussions and updates and expands a prior study funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (Nickse 1989).

The intended audience for this work is broad, and it includes policy makers and program administrators who are interested in family education in several settings: in adult basic education, elementary schools, community agencies such as libraries, community-based programs, and corporations.

Background

Whatever the setting, family and intergenerational literacy programs provide an opportunity to combine agendas of mutual importance: the improvement of adults' basic skills and children's literacy development. The decade of the 1990s holds the promise of the merger of activities to support healthy family development, including literacy. New collaborations are in evidence as the complex nature of this problem reveals itself. Literacy improvement is more than an individual pursuit; it is now a community goal. Piecemeal efforts at literacy improvement no longer seem adequate, and no one agency acting alone can expect to improve the literacy of a community (Nickse 1990a). The seriousness and seeming intractability of educational and social problems in the nation compel new projects that blur traditional separations and the perceived boundaries of home, school, and workplace.

The growing movement toward family and intergenerational literacy programs is represented by a collection of first generation programs located in several parallel, but rarely convergent, sectors. Generally, the programs are new, service oriented, and nontheoretical, with differing perspectives and goals. Only a few have an empirical focus. Balkanization of programs is also an unfortunate fact. It isolates programs from each other to their detriment. This occurs because of traditional turf boundaries, custom, and habit. Although the stronger programs reach across sectors, it is often a difficult task.

As family literacy becomes a legitimate field of education in its own right, interactions across sectors will be encouraged. Programs have much to share as they initiate new and successful practices. Additionally, research and development in family literacy needs to occur within a multidisciplinary framework. An era of cooperation is required if measurable progress is to be made. Family and intergenerational literacy programs are based on concepts that, in theory and practice, offer such an opportunity.

The Concept

Family and intergenerational literacy programs are organized efforts to improve the literacy of educationally disadvantaged parents and children through specially designed programs. They are based on the recognition that homes in which parents read and write tend to have children who also read and write. It is hoped that literacy development might be increased with "at-risk" populations when family and extended family members are involved together: research from several sources, to be reviewed briefly, would seem to support this hope. Although there are many variations in program design, there is a basic idea: educationally disadvantaged parents and children can be viewed as a learning unit and may benefit from shared literacy experiences (Nickse and Englander 1985a). Although the role of parents in programs is controversial, there is agreement about the importance of their involvement.

The family and intergenerational literacy idea appeals to an audience of theorists and program designers in both public and private settings as well as to legislators, administrators, and policy makers, but at this early point, the anticipated outcomes are largely speculative. There is little evidence to date that expectations are confirmed (Sticht 1989) but plenty of reason to persist (Sticht and McDonald 1989).

Definitions of Family and Intergenerational Literacy

In an emergent field, program names and titles are often selected in a haphazard manner, with little thought for the meaning conveyed to others; the result leads to some confusion in definitions. Although various authors may ascribe certain other criteria to distinguish program types from one another, there is at least one basic difference between "family" and "intergenerational" literacy programs, in the most literal sense.

Not all programs that title themselves as "intergenerational" are "family" programs. Some planners recognize that a variety of adults acting as reading models can have a postive impact on children's reading activities and they design programs to support this outcome. Strangers (that is, senior citizens and/or literacy tutors, high school students) may be paired for reading and other activities with children who are unrelated to them. In a corporate setting, child care and elder care may exist within the same facility, for

example at Stride Rite (n.d.), but the children and elders are not necessarily family members. These programs are intergenerational, because participants span age groups.

By definition, "family" programs are both family and intergenerational because they target recruitment to immediate family (parents, grandparents) or extended family members (aunts, uncles, caretakers, friends) and also span age groups.

Since research points to mothers' special importance in the development of literacy (Kirsch and Jungeblut 1986; Sticht 1989), targeting only mothers in "family" programs is common. This practice seems intentionally to restrict or omit fathers or father surrogates from participation even if they are present in the home. "Mothers-only" practice may be less effective in the long run than is anticipated (Walker and Crocker 1988). Some projects have been modestly successful at attracting fathers or their surrogates to family literacy activities and are increasingly trying to reach out to them by providing different types of events that are thought to appeal to men, for example, carpentry workshops or fishing trips. Fatherhood projects such as that sponsored by AVANCE are promising (Barbara Bush Foundation 1989). This is an important effort, because research suggests that results may be more profound and lasting if the whole family, however it is defined, is involved.

Sponsorship of Programs

The context for new types of literacy initiatives is complex. The early development of and surge in family literacy programs has been a grassroots movement, formalized at the federal level within the last 5 or 6 years through different legislative initiatives in several agencies.

Federal Government

Major federal legislation supports a large share of current family literacy practice (Seibles 1990). Programs funded through these acts bring parents/adults and children together for learning. Seven significant statutes and their purposes are described in Table 1.

States

Three states supported pioneering experiments and reported early on intergenerational literacy projects: Massachusetts (Nickse and Englander 1985a), Pennsylvania (Askov 1987), and Kentucky, where the state legislature sponsored a comprehensive program (Parent and Child Education or PACE). State legislatures have continued to develop and support programs. For example, in Kentucky the legislature has expanded the PACE program to 34 sites (Heberle 1990). Illinois has sponsored 25 programs through its statewide Literacy Council (Illinois Literacy Resource Development Center 1990). State legislatures can promote family literacy as well as fund it. In Mississippi, where general improvement of education is the goal, family literacy is an objective in a comprehensive plan to increase literacy statewide by the year 2001 (*Mississippi Literacy Newsletter* 1989). Hawaii has also initiated a comprehensive legislative initiative.

TABLE 1

FEDERAL LEGISLATION IN SUPPORT OF FAMILY LITERACY

FEDERAL LEGISLATION	*FUNDING*	*CONTACT*
Adult Education Act, P.L. 100-297, as amended (Titles II and III) The act authorizes federal funds for state-administered adult education programs with some national discretionary monies. States use a portion of their allocations under Section 353 of the act to fund family literacy and intergenerational programs. This section requires states to set aside at least 10 percent of their federal grant for development of innovative and coordinated approaches in the delivery of adult education services through demonstration and teacher training special projects. States also use funds under Section 321 of the act to implement many of these programs.	FY 90 Funds: $192 Million FY 91 Funds: $238.7 Million (Request)	Joan Seamon, Director Division of Adult Education and Literacy/ED 400 Maryland Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20202-7240 (202) 732-2270
Library Services and Construction Act (Titles I and VI) The Library Literacy Program provides grants to state and local public libraries for the support of literacy programs. Grant funds are used to coordinate and plan library literacy programs, to arrange training of librarians and volunteers to carry out such programs for adults, for use of facilities, for dissemination, and for acquiring literacy materals designed to improve the literacy levels of illiterate and functionally illiterate adults. Two percent of last year's grant awards were in the area of intergenerational liberacy programs.	FY 90 Funds: $5.4 Million FY 91 Funds: $8.4 Million (Request)	Ray Fry, Director Library Literacy Programs Office of Educational Research and Improvement/ED (OERI) 555 New Jersey Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20206 (202) 357-6315
Head Start Act The Head Start program is administered by the Administration for Children, Youth and Families (ACYF), Office of Human Development Services, Department of Health and Human Services Regional Offices and the Indian and Migrant Program Branches. Grants are awarded to local public agencies, private nonprofit organizations and school systems for the purpose of operating Head Start programs at the community level. The programs are encouraged to use non-Head Start resources in their communities for implementing programs for children and their parents.	FY 90 Funds: $1.386 Billion FY 91 Funds: $1.886 Billion (Request)	Marlys Gustafson, Director Division of Program Development Administration for Children, Youth and Families Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) Washington, DC 20201-0001 (202) 245-0579
Family Support Act of 1988 (Title IV-A), JOBS (Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program) JOBS, a formula grant to states, provides Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients with the opportunity to take part in education, job training, and work activities. JOBS policies require coordination of new services with existing education programs and job training. The program also requires efficient coordination between federal, state, and local governments in program design and administration.	FY 90 Funds: $800 Million FY 91 Funds: $1 Billion (Request)	Yvonne Howard JOBS Coordinator Family Support Administration/HHS 370 L'Enfant Promenade, SW Washington, DC 20447 (202) 252-4518

SOURCE: Seibles (1990)

TABLE 1--*Continued*

FEDERAL LEGISLATION IN SUPPORT OF FAMILY LITERACY

FEDERAL LEGISLATION	*FUNDING*	*CONTACT*
Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as amended, Chapter 1 (Title I), Even Start Even Start is administered under Chapter I, Part B of the act. Its purpose is to improve the educational opportunities of the nation's children and adults by integrating early childhood education and adult education for parents into a unified program. The program shall be implemented by local educational agencies through cooperative projects that build on existing community resources to create a new range of services.	FY 90 Funds: $24.2 Million FY 91 Funds: $48 Million	Mary Jean LeTendre Director Compensatory Education Programs/ED 400 Maryland Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20202 (202) 732-4682
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title VII), Bilingual Education The Family English Literacy Program's purpose is to provide families with limited English proficiency the opportunity to improve their literacy skills and behaviors. Under this discretionary program, funds are allocated to implement intergenerational literacy activities, which may include language instruction, survival skills, and parenting skills.	FY 90 Funds: $4.9 Million FY 91 Funds: $5.5 Million (Request)	Rita Esquival, Director Office of the Director for Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs/ED 400 Maryland Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20202 (202) 732-5063
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title III, Part B), Family School Partnership Program. The Fund for the Improvement and Reform of Schools and Teaching Act, as amended in 1988. The Family School Partnership Program provides assistance to local educational agencies eligible to receive grants under Chapter I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), as amended, to conduct projects that increase the involvement of families in improving educational achievement of their children. Discretionary funds are provided to projects for up to 36 months. Part C calls for the applicant to build on existing inovative family involvement programs in order to develop, evaluate, and disseminate these programs.	FY 90 Funds: $1.8 Million FY 91 Funds: (NA)	Patricia McKee, Director Fund for the Improvement and Reform of Schools and Teaching/ED (OERI) 555 New Jersey Avenue, NW Room 522 Washington, DC 20206 (202) 357-6496

Corporations

Corporations initiate programs as part of corporate family care activities. Companies such as Stride Rite, a pioneer in child care for employees (Hiatt 1987; Kantrowitz and Picker 1990; Leibold 1990); Nissan (Daniels 1990; Nissan n.d.); and Chrysler (1989) have begun family and intergenerational programs that provide, directly or indirectly, opportunities for literacy improvement for adults and children (Reading Is Fundamental 1990).

The Work in America Institute, Inc. has assembled a five-part workplace family literacy curriculum kit for use with parents in employer- and union-sponsored employee assistance programs. Corporations may purchase one (or all) of the curriculum units (reading, math, science, the use of television for the development of thinking skills, and a parents' library) that promote family learning. Training for company trainers and technical assistance is also available. The purpose of the effort is to increase family literacy as well as to improve employees' skills (Business Council for Effective Literacy 1989; J. Darling 1990).

Organizations

There is growing interest and activity in private organizations involved in family and intergenerational literacy programs. SER, Inc., a national organization for Hispanic people, is developing 111 Family Learning Center (FLC) programs in its 130 local affiliates across the United States. There are currently 42 FLC programs in operation. These programs use computer-assisted instruction for teaching both parents and children. Another program sponsored by this agency is SER Care Centers, which provide intergenerational activities attracting parents, children, and grandparents. There are now six SER Care Centers across the country, and more are planned, according to the staff (SER 1990).

Other community-based organizations are also involved in family literacy initiatives. They implement literacy programs targeted at particular populations, for instance, low-income single mothers needing employment and basic skills training. Weaving a family literacy component into existing curriculum models is a particular concern of Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW), which works nationally and in Washington, D.C., through a network of 400 independent women's employment programs. WOW's mission is to help women and girls achieve economic independence and equality of opportunity (Beck 1988).

Unions have also begun initiatives in response to new concerns about family literacy. For instance, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Sheet Metal Workers, and the UAW/Ford and UAW/GM Training Centers are among several organizations taking part in a pilot effort to help employee parents assist their children's learning. The program, called Linking Home and School through Workplace, is developed by the Work in America Institute (BCEL 1989).

The American Bar Association and the American Association of Retired Persons are developing projects, and other organizations support the idea of family literacy in publications and newsletters and through short-term events that publicize the concept. Many organizations have made considerable investments in adult literacy education in the past 5 years, and it is expected that family literacy will attract others as concern for families increases.

Foundations

A prominent example of foundation sponsorship is the Kenan Trust Family Literacy Project, which has funded seven family literacy sites in North Carolina and in Louisville, Kentucky. The Kenan Trust also sponsors the National Center for Family Literacy in Louisville. The Center has three purposes: to promote public awareness through providing information, seminars, and planning services to policy makers, program administrators, and staff; to document effects of its program models through research; and to provide implementation assistance including training and technical assistance to new and existing program initiatives (*News from the National Center for Family Literacy* 1989).

What is now known as the "Kenan Trust Family Literacy Model" originated in Kentucky and is an elaboration of the earlier, and still existent, Parent and Child Education (PACE) program. Training in both models is done through the National Center for Family Literacy. PACE is replicated within the state of Kentucky, and adaptations of the Kenan Trust model exist at 62 sites in 27 states, including Alaska and Hawaii. Both Canada and Australia have at least one site. Sharon Darling (1990), President of the National Center, estimates that around 1,300 families participated in a Kenan Trust program in the last year.

The mission of the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, a public, nonprofit organization with the First Lady as Honorary Chairperson, is threefold: to establish literacy as a value in every family in the United States, to break the intergenerational cycle of illiteracy, and to support the development of family literacy programs. The Bush Foundation identifies programs that work, awards grants, provides seed money for community planning, supports teacher training and development, encourages participation, and publishes materials. In September 1990, the Foundation awarded its first grants. About 10 programs, one in each educational region of the country, representing diverse program models, were funded to a maximum award of $50,000. The Foundation plans to continue grants to these programs based on performance.

The MacArthur Foundation has sponsored several projects, including a corporate effort through the Work in America Institute, it also contributes to the evaluation of the Illinois Family Literacy Projects. It supports a national project administered by Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) to improve the literacy skills of women who head families.

The Rockefeller Foundation sponsors an intergenerational literacy project in five sites across the country targeted at single working mothers and their children. Cosponsored by WOW, its conference on literacy in the marketplace attracted hundreds of participants and produced an excellent report on the improvement of literacy for low-income single mothers (WOW 1989).

Volunteer Literacy Organizations

Volunteer literacy organizations have also begun involvement in family and intergenerational literacy programs. Often these are sponsored by grants from companies or foundations. Training modules for tutors and special materials for family reading are developed. For example, GTE Corporations has given a grant of $130,000 to Literacy Volunteers of America to establish the GTE Family Literacy Program in six cities where GTE provides telephone services. The program uses GTE employees as tutors to teach parents and other caregivers who are deficient in reading to read to their children.

Six to eight sessions in this subject are given to small groups of learners who then are encouraged to continue literacy training.

Laubach Literacy International and Literacy Volunteers of America have received a joint grant of $125,000 from the Coors Family Literacy Foundation to conduct a major national training of trainers during 1990. Through this joint project, it is expected that a total of 100,000 new learners will be reached (Literacy Volunteers of America Inc. 1990).

Clearly, sponsorship of family and intergenerational literacy programs is not confined to any particular public or private agency or legislative act. It is a concept that is adaptable at the local program or community level, by statewide legislative mandate, or through federal statutes. The practice takes many forms; however, there are general expectations for the efforts.

Expectations for Programs

Family and intergenerational literacy programs attract attention as a sensible idea because they seem "natural" to people who are readers. There is something immediately familiar about the ads that encourage people to read to and with children. We remember the joy we felt when reading to our own children, and, as children ourselves, in being read to by our families (Nickse 1990c). This natural appeal also lends itself to the notion that teaching literacy through reading to children is easy, that anyone can do it. This is potentially a problem--not all who want to be involved have the skills or temperament to be effective, and they may need supervision by professionals in adult basic education and reading if the desired outcome--increased family literacy--is to be achieved (Nickse and Paratore 1988).

Long-term goals for programs include a break in the cycle of intergenerational illiteracy, and, additionally, multiple and separate goals for adults (greater success in parenting, education, training, and employment) and for children (increased achievement in school, fewer school dropouts, and a literate work force for the future). Less widely expressed is the short-term goal wished for by administrators--that these combined programs may save money because they may be more effective and less expensive than the present dual system that teaches literacy to adults and children separately. For corporations, the expectations include recognition of their interest and sensitivity to the changing work force, an increased acknowledgement of the need for workplace literacy, and employee skill improvement.

The reader may now be asking a legitimate question. What is the problem? Why are such a variety of sponsors willing to invest resources and make commitments to an untested idea? For the most part, although there is strong theoretical evidence to support their effectiveness, there is little empirical evidence to support these investments. However, new programs continue to emerge.

The Pressures of Contemporary Society

Educational changes are often slow to be adopted; yet the notion of intergenerational and family programs seems to have had a rapid acceptance by various sponsors across diverse sectors, despite little evidence to support their worth. Why have both public and private agencies and organizations stepped on this bandwagon with such enthusiasm? The answer lies in a combination of issues that confront the nation. These include growing concerns in communities for the improvement of

adult literacy and literacy of families, young children's and teens' school success, the health and stability of families, the strength and cohesion of neighborhoods, and the economic health, competitiveness, and preservation of our standard of living. Consider these effects of poverty, for example:

- One in five children lives in poverty and their numbers have grown over the last decade. Although the majority are white, nearly half of Black children live in poverty.

- In 1986, 4.5 million women were in the work force yet living in poverty, and more than half had children. The median annual income for such a full-time working mother was $7,056--significantly below the official poverty threshold of $8,737 for a family of three or $11,203 for a family of four. (National Commission on Working Women 1988).

- Poverty is a risk factor associated with a variety of negative outcomes. Poor children face a greater risk of malnutrition, recurrent and untreated health problems, child abuse, educational disability, low achievement, and school drop out. (Goodson, Swartz, and Millsap 1990)

Workplace concerns also contribute to the dialogue about the needs of women and children. Policy makers and educators believe that family and intergenerational literacy programs may be a vehicle for assisting families in coping with the stress they face. In the workplace, several significant challenges must be met. There is a need for workers to increase their basic skills to accommodate technological improvements in production. Changing family structures with more single parents, especially mothers, as primary caretakers and breadwinners intersect with the lack of a national policy on day care, which exacerbates the pressure particularly on women who need to work for economic reasons. In 1988, only 4,150 companies, out of 6 million, provided child care assistance to their employees (National Commission on Working Women 1990).

Within corporate organizations, there are other issues to face. The slow growth and aging of the labor pool supports the need to make good use of every employee. Long-overdue changes in attitudes and practices have contributed to the increased employment of women and minorities. The need to improve the skills of the work force parallels the increasing opportunity (in part because of changing demographics) to hire nontraditional workers (women and minorities) and to find ways to integrate them into management. Yet the feminization of the workplace brings with it new challenges that must be faced. Here are some revealing statistics:

- In 1989, 68 percent of all women in the U.S. labor force aged 16 to 64 were working for pay. Fifty-six million women were either working or looking for work; women workers made up over 45 percent of the total labor force; 74.5 percent were employed full time.

- The majority of women workers remain in the labor force during their childbearing years; in 1988, 65 percent of all women with children under 18 were in the labor force; 56 percent of mothers with children under age 6 and 74 percent of mothers with children aged 6-17 were in the labor force.

- In 1989, 62 percent of Black, 48 percent of Hispanic, and 70 percent of white female heads of families were in the labor force; 53 percent of Black families, 52 percent of Hispanic

families, and 28 percent of white families maintained by working women had incomes below the poverty level.

Thus, there are pressures from several directions, both societal and within organizations, that appear overwhelming. Threats seem constant (Grubb and Lazerson 1982), and the search for solutions is ever more frantic. Together, these concerns form a core of challenges that is multifaceted, complex, and interrelated. Although a common approach has been to address each separately and one at a time through assorted agencies with specialized functions, this strategy may need rethinking. We need to profit from this past experiment, not replicate it for the framework of family literacy.

For instance, there is evidence that interventions aimed at discrete age groups (children, youth, adults) show little or no gains in cognitive development that are sustained over time (Sticht and McDonald 1989). There is a small movement in local service delivery toward a more holistic organization of services to beleaguered families, evidence of cooperation and collaboration not frequently paralleled in agencies at the state or federal levels. This comes not the least from a recognition that many services are directed to the same families in an uncoordinated fashion.

Family and intergenerational literacy programs provide a vehicle for more coordinated policy and practices to aid educationally and economically disadvantaged citizens and workers. However, if comprehensive programs are not necessarily quicker or less expensive despite fervent wishes to get "bigger bangs for the bucks," perhaps they will be more effective. There are few quick fixes or really cheap ways to improve the literacy of adults and children--this seems painfully clear. Prevention of low literacy is less expensive, economically and psychologically, than costly remediation.

Motivations for Family Literacy Programs

Are we correct in making these commitments? Why do we think this approach may work? Sponsors share some common assumptions. There is something appealing about the idea of adults and children reading together. It makes good common sense. Family literacy seems as though it should work--it worked for us and our children, who are all readers, right? The notion that people should read and, furthermore, enjoy it and hold positive attitudes about literacy is common. It is assumed by the middle class, a niche occupied by most educational program designers, that these are shared behaviors and values, common across cultures. Only recently have we begun to learn that this is not so true. There are several mitigating factors.

First, many adults with low literacy development do not have the technical skills for reading and writing; some do not know that reading to children, modeling reading behaviors, and encouraging reading are good for children and appropriate parental behavior; others cannot afford books and do not frequent libraries (Nickse and Englander 1985a). Second, in homes where poor economic and health conditions prevail or homelessness is a factor, where instabilities caused by extreme burdens of social and economic problems intrude, reading to children is neither a habit nor a priority. All programs designed to increase family literacy have to be aware that low literacy is often an economic problem as well as an educational challenge, and that in the pantheon of priorities, adequate housing, nutrition, and income directly affect individuals'

abilities to learn or their interest in learning. No matter how carefully crafted, the success of family and intergenerational literacy programs is offset by persistent poverty (Rodriguez and Cortez 1988). There are limitations to educational solutions to social and economic problems. Mindful of these caveats, efforts to improve family literacy are promising.

The political appeal of intergenerational and family programs is evident at the federal, state, and local levels because the family is the focus of substantial concern at each level. Current political activities to craft some sort of child care bill, still being debated in Congress, show a willingness to discuss this concern and also the inability of Congress to pass such legislation. Congress was unable to override a Presidential veto of the Family and Medical Leave legislation in 1990, which speaks to the reluctance of the nation to attempt to resolve these matters. Yet it is estimated that about two-thirds of Americans support some sort of child care and parental leave bill. Caution prevails among legislators, despite mounting support from many organizations. The lack of parental leave benefits is estimated to cost U.S. workers and taxpayers more than $700 million per year in lost wages and public assistance payments (National Commission on Working Women 1990). Although there are lobbies for the elderly, there is no lobby yet for families, although the need is great.

Debates about the nature of U.S. families by both moderates and conservatives cite family breakdowns linked to a glut of social pathologies: child abuse, juvenile delinquency, teenage pregnancy, illiteracy, and a diminished work ethic (Grubb and Lazerson 1982). According to these authors, the central dilemma is the following: if the state must assume some responsibilities for children, how can it discharge these when child rearing is still considered a private responsibility? The question is relevant to the topic because it underlines a critical issue in the design of dual literacy programs. How can professionals enhance the well-being of families and children without diluting parental control, which contributes to feelings of powerlessness? Further, how can designers of family and intergenerational literacy programs respect cultural differences while changing them through improved literacy? This is a sensitive question, with no easy answer.

Weiss, Hausman, and Seppanen (1988) write that the political climate is changing from wariness and reluctance about getting involved with so-called "family business" to the support of preventive interaction. The trend is evident. Concern about the family is the subject of general debates and more specific discussions about the role of family in welfare and education reform and efforts to prevent abuse and neglect. Carefully contoured and evaluated family and intergenerational literacy programs may be a means to prevent the cycle of intergenerational illiteracy and one key element in ameliorating family stress.

Who Benefits?

The question of who benefits from a family or intergenerational literacy agenda is, because of the modest amount of research information on impacts and outcomes, largely speculative now. Large-scale evaluations over time, for example, that of the Even Start projects, are just getting started. However, it is instructive to choose a setting and hypothesize a scenario. Although the benefits detailed here have occurred to date through child care settings, they may suggest some positive effects from a family literacy focus.

Using the workplace as an example, imagine the possible actors who might benefit from a family literacy focus at work sites within corporations. The family as a whole benefits, because a family program at this convenient location offers stable child care for employees who need it. If, in addition, the program has intertwined with its high quality preschool activities a family literacy focus, there is a convenient linkage to its workplace adult basic skills education program. Parents involved in reading to and with their children are learning of their own importance to their child's eventual school success, are engaged in an enjoyable activity as a parent, and are increasing their own literacy skills. They are doing this during the work day, perhaps during lunch, and sometimes are learning to do this on work time (J. Darling 1990).

The corporation benefits because onsite day care increases the attractiveness of the job to employees and the commitment of employees to work goals. Freed from constant worry about sitters and the quality of child care for youngsters, employee motivation and morale increase through a company policy that acknowledges the importance of being a parent and acts upon this to create a useful program. Absenteeism and turnover are reduced, and so is time lost in making and maintaining child care arrangements. Such peace of mind may increase job involvement and the intrinsic worth of the job to the employee, and that, in turn, of the employee to the corporation.

This ripple effect has both short-term and long-term consequences. In the short term, it increases the literacy skills of the employee; in the long term, it contributes to the literacy capital of the family and helps ensure that the next generation of workers is better prepared for life on and off the job. After all, it is only 16 short years before today's preschool child becomes tomorrow's worker. An early investment in the child's day care and literacy assistance for the family may result in better school achievement and a more successful future for the child as a competent manager.

In most corporations this scenario is just a pipe-dream, for a few others it is not an impossibility. Commitment is the vital ingredient.

Summary

Family and intergenerational literacy programs are developed to increase the literacy of educationally disadvantaged adults and their preschool and school-aged children. Programs are varied in administration and design, are in the first generation, and are sponsored by a variety of different agencies and initiatives; thus, they are difficult to identify. No one knows the number of programs in existence.

Family and intergenerational literacy programs may be locally initiated and administered, sponsored by states through special or existing legislation, or federally sponsored. A few are private-sector funded and foundation supported or are corporate efforts. Most programs are service oriented and nontheoretical, and they are run on a trial-and-error basis. Only a few are experimental or demonstration projects with an empirical focus. The programs are for the most part small and new, they have different perspectives and goals, and they are in sectors with separate literatures. They respond to different organizational mandates, so it is difficult to locate information about them or to classify them, although this paper attempts to do so.

Expected program outcomes for parents include greater success in parenting,

education, training, and employment; and for children, increased achievement in school, fewer school dropouts, and a literate work force for the future. Although there is strong theoretical evidence to support their effectiveness, there is only modest empirical evidence to date that these expected outcomes will actually be achieved.

THE RESEARCH BASE

Although there is little evidence to date to support the benefits of family literacy programs because research-based programs are few, there are modest and positive effects reported in the new literature now being published. These findings are based on relatively unsophisticated evaluations from a limited number of programs--one of the problems faced by this investigator in determining their impact. Yet the concept of family literacy is rooted firmly in a substantial base of research from related but diverse fields. Studies in adult literacy, emergent literacy, cognitive sciences, early childhood development and education, and family systems theory support the soundness of a family education approach. The following section outlines some contributions of these broad areas that justify the development of carefully designed family and intergenerational literacy programs.

Adult Literacy Education

The need to improve adult literacy is well known. It is documented in books (Harman 1987; Kozol 1985), in survey research (Kirsch and Jungeblut 1986), in reviews of literature (Sticht 1989), in reviews of practice (Fingeret 1984), in resource books (French 1987), in newsletters (Business Council for Effective Literacy 1986-1990), and in countless articles and the popular press. Unfortunately, years of neglect and fragmented responsibility at the federal level have left adult basic education struggling for resources and for professional status. Now, when the need for both service and research is greatest, the national "system" for adult literacy education is found to be what it is, a cottage industry, with no strong research base. Evaluation of the effectiveness of adult literacy programs in general is an undervalued process that needs to be strengthened.

Chisman (1989), in a controversial report, points to the crude state of our knowledge of effective adult literacy instruction and administration and offers a plan for federal leadership to rectify this. He describes the adult literacy knowledge base as sparse and the field of basic skills education as "institutionally and politically weak and fragmented." The passage of the Literacy for All Americans Act (LAAA) shelved by Congress in 1990 would have considerably improved the federal role in literacy services. Many of its provisions were adapted from suggestions and recommendations in the Chisman report, which was developed with input from a large group of adult basic educators across the country.

Related research that is relevant to family literacy is found in the literature of adult education. In the absence of substantive empirical evidence on how adults learn to read, there are persistent efforts, often by experts in the children's reading field, to extrapolate from the known (research on children's literacy development) to the unknown (adult literacy development). The most comprehensive review of adult literacy education to date has been reported by Sticht (1989). Although his report also decries the abject state of adult literacy education, it offers a very

useful review of research in adult reading development. Sticht states:

> History . . . reveals a "crisis mentality" toward the literacy education of adults that has hindered the development of a cadre of professionals trained in adult literacy education and a body of research-based knowledge about the development of literacy in adulthood. Too often understandings of literacy education derived from experience with children in elementary schools are applied to the literacy education of adults, with disastrous effects. (p. 62)

These include misidentification of adult literacy skills and the development of programs inappropriate for adults' life context. Research, policy, and practice, now decidedly different and separate, should bring together adults' and children's literacy development and seek some unified theory of cognitive growth for both adults and children (Sticht 1989). There is a need for more research on the relationship of parents' literacy and children's emergent literacy.

If parents themselves have literacy problems, what effect can this have on their children? Overall, researchers have found that parents' education affects how well their children achieve--the intergenerational effect that begins and often maintains a cycle of low literacy. Sum and Taggert (forthcoming) found that an extra grade level of attainment for the mother--when the father's education, race, and region of the country were constant--was associated with an extra half-grade equivalent of achievement for her children. This is a compelling argument for equal priority on education for parents. Family education programs that enlist parent participation to increase children's chances for success, but do not provide literacy instruction for parents, might well heed this finding.

A study of literacy in young adults (Kirsch and Jungeblut 1986) found that the mother's educational attainment was positively associated with mean test scores of participants on four literacy scales. Adults whose mothers completed some postsecondary education had mean test scores a full standard deviation above those of respondents whose mothers had not graduated from high school.

Poorly educated parents may have limited vocabularies that may inhibit vocabulary development in children. Since language development and skills are related to cognitive ability, the way that parents speak, directly to children rather than at or past them, can affect children's language and, later, the development of the reading and writing skills, the "school literacies" necessary for school success. The "noises of literacy" refer to appropriate and constant social and verbal interchanges in homes and communities between parents and children that provide the early basis for later social and intellectual development. Not only are the social interactions important for developing literacy in children but adult literacy itself is also supported within social networks (Fingeret 1983).

According to Berlin and Sum (1988), few people realize the critical role that basic skills deficiencies play in stubborn social problems of teenage parenting, youth joblessness, school drop out, welfare dependency, and the decline in work force productivity growth. Their report demonstrates that, compared with young people with above average basic skills, those in the bottom 20 percent were nine times more likely to drop out of school prior to graduation, eight times more likely to become mothers out of wedlock, and four times more likely to become welfare

dependent. Moreover, these authors continue, in an interdependent world economy, the skills of the nation's work force become an important determinant of industry's competitive position, workers' real wages, and the overall standard of living. Literacy and basic skills bear a distinct relation to the future well-being of workers, families, firms, and the country.

Although we may not know yet how best to teach adults to read, there is evidence that intergenerational and family programs retain adult students longer (Heathington, Boser, and Satter 1984; Nickse, Speicher, and Bucheck 1988). This finding is encouraging, because adult new readers need extensive instruction and practice if skill levels are to be increased to an effective literacy level: some say 12th grade is not too high a goal. For low literate adults, this may take 6 to 8 years or more of intense, professionally supervised instruction. If the motivation to improve literacy is increased by dual programs, retention of both adults and children in educational programs may increase "time on task" and, therefore, have a positive impact on measures of success. If parents' educational skills are improved at the same time as children's, long-term positive outcomes seem plausible. In sum, research findings from a variety of sources lend credibility to the importance of adult literacy education and to educated parents as one key to improved family literacy.

Emergent Literacy

Research in emergent literacy establishes the importance of literate parents in the development of children's literacy. If parents are not literate for their own sake, there is much evidence that they need a degree of literacy for their children's achievement--the more, presumably, the better. Emergent literacy represents a new perspective that stresses that legitimate, conceptual, and developmental literacy occurs during the first years of a child's life (Sulzby and Teale 1987; Teale 1986). A review by Mason and Allen (1986) examines the current knowledge of emergent literacy and integrates it with more traditional studies on reading acquisition, with implications for research and practice in reading. These authors have also contributed a valuable book on reducing the risks for young literacy learners, with several articles in the publication targeted on the role of the family in literacy development (Allen and Mason 1989).

The field of emergent literacy studies oral language, story-listening comprehension, and error patterns in early attempts to read and write. A less narrow focus than analysis of letter and word recognition, emergent literacy also involves tracing community and home influences on reading and writing. Briefly, the importance of the social context of literacy is emphasized, noting that the value of literacy is not the same for all members of a society. "Family characteristics, including academic guidance, attitude towards education, aspirations of parent for child, conversations in the home, and reading materials and cultural activities, contribute more directly to early reading achievement and account for considerably more variance than socioeconomic status" (Mason and Allen 1986). According to a widely quoted report sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education, "parents are their children's first and most influential teachers. What parents do to help their children learn is more important to academic success than how well-off the family is" (Anderson et al. 1985).

There is much evidence that the ways children learn about language and books are embedded in family communication patterns; parent-child literacy events in middle-class homes include structured

interactions with questioning, comments about the children's experience, and labeling. Preschoolers enjoy bedtime stories; read cereal boxes, stop signs, and ads; sing alphabet songs; and experience a variety of opportunities to use language in interaction with adults. In many working class Black and white homes, parent-child literacy events are less frequent or absent, with other forms of verbal behavior the norm. These forms are dissimilar from the "school literacy" that the children experience and are expected to know when they begin formal education. They are unprepared at the start to cope with it, having learned a different kind of literacy at home and in their communities (Heath 1983, 1989; Heath and Branscombe 1985).

Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) have written eloquently about the uses of literacy in inner-city life. They argue that myths and stereotypes about poor families abound, and they charge scholars first to examine their own assumptions about families and children before they accept the idea that education and literacy are interchangeable. In their study, poor but literate parents were engaged in a wide variety of literacy-related activities in their homes and with their children. The authors urge changes in classroom practice that would legitimize the literacy learning of the children and build on their personal images of themselves as literate learners.

Studies of homes in which poor parents with low levels of literacy raise their children need more examination to understand the role that literacy plays in these environments. Further, studies of families who are aliterate but not poor would also contribute to our understanding of this complex subject. Although ethnographic research in family settings is difficult to conduct, the information gathered is valuable if appropriate interventions are to be designed.

The social context of literacy in the interaction between children and adults in homes and communities has a profound and early impact on children's early literacy development. Intervention now for prevention of school failure later is the guiding theme from this research. This is why early childhood family literacy projects are so important for families in communities where "school literacies" are either unknown or undervalued and not practiced. Unfortunately, there are few of these in existence (Dickinson 1988; Goodson, Swartz, and Millsap 1990; Sticht and McDonald 1989). However, the new Even Start federal legislation is designed to increase the number of programs that stress family literacy.

Cognitive Science

In the skeins of research that have implications for the value of intergenerational and family literacy programs, research from the area of cognitive science is potentially of most profit and least well known. The impressive case for this perspective and its direct relationship to the development of intergenerational educational programs is argued provocatively by Sticht and McDonald (1989). A multidisciplinary and relatively new area of science, cognitive science changes and increases our understanding of how learning takes place. If more widely understood and practiced, it seems promising as a major component in the design of effective educational interventions.

Cognitive science aids understanding of the interaction of both knowledge and context in the facilitation of learning and its transfer to other settings. It posits that knowledge and information-processing skills are socially developed and distributed within society both in and out of school and that cognitive ability is shaped significantly by the culture and society into

which the child is born and reared. Social groups direct the cognitive development of members through values placed on the learning of skills and provide the motivation for the kinds of learning valued by them. The value of school-based, formal education, and individuals' success in acquiring it, it follows, is a product of the belief system of the group. Although the importance of individuals' intellectual inheritance is not overlooked, individual achievement can be inhibited or enhanced by these external factors. The group itself can embrace new values, thus passing them on to their children. However, culture is an important limiting factor in behavioral malleability (Slaughter 1988), and human beings change slowly. Program planners and evaluators must work with this knowledge and with respect for both families and traditions.

Within this framework, Sticht and McDonald (1989) present three themes that reflect understanding of the minimal success of previous educational interventions and the promise of future programs based in cognitive science: (1) a need to attend to the cross-generational consequences of programs, (2) a need to recognize and incorporate the social nature of cognitive development, and (3) a need to attend to the contexts in which programs are implemented and evaluated. These themes have direct impact on understanding the necessity for diverse family literacy programs and the importance of the use of nonschool, social networks in homes, communities, and worksites. Library and workplace settings, community centers, clubs, and churches are a few examples of sites where social networks thrive. Their contributions to family literacy and cognitive development need to be fostered.

Early Childhood Development

Related work in early childhood development reinforces the need for family literacy programs. Those who study the impact of poverty on early childhood development (Parker, Greer, and Zuckerman 1988) note that, in a low socioeconomic status (SES) environment, more risk factors for adverse behavioral and developmental outcomes are likely to be present, including increased stress, maternal depression, and diminished social support. These factors affect the quality of the home environment and the parent-child interaction, which, in turn, influence the child.

Chronic stress (for example, unemployment and a lack of material goods) and maternal depression are associated with adverse consequences for parents and children, either directly or indirectly. Maternal depression is associated with a number of negative developmental outcomes for children (such as sleep problems, depression, and socially isolating behaviors at school age). It is a higher risk factor for low SES mothers of young children. More positively, the presence of adequate social support for families is associated with a more stimulating and appropriate home environment for the child. It exerts its influence on children by providing them with a widened social network, emotional support, and stimulation. Parents benefit from access to positive role models, external monitoring of their child-rearing practices, and emotional support from interactions with others. Early intervention is effective for children at biologic or environmental risk.

Although family literacy programs cannot make up for extreme deficits in the environment that lead to increased stress, well-designed programs can be helpful. They can provide social support, the lack of which has been found to be a greater

risk factor for families living in poverty, particularly for single parents who are especially susceptible to social isolation. Maternal depression perhaps can be addressed sensitively in parenting education classes. Again, family literacy programs cannot be expected to alter basic social and economic problems faced by participant families; however, airing distress in a mutually supportive setting with counseling available may provide a sense of sharing and reduce isolation. Effective interventions can honestly confront topics such as parental stress and depression and their effects on children as worthy of discussion.

Preschool and Elementary Education

This field provides some related research of value to family literacy efforts. For example, evaluations of family education programs that worked with parents of young children report positive short-term effects on the children, measured by standardized achievement tests (Goodson and Hess 1976). Bronfenbrenner (1974) notes that early intervention is more effective when parents are involved in the program.

Dickinson (1988) cites studies in several topic areas on the value of parent involvement in schools, on effective child-rearing patterns, on paired reading experiments in England (particularly the work of Tizard and the Haringey project) and the links to children's school achievement (Tizard, Schofield, and Hewison 1982). Dickinson notes some results that bear on family literacy programs, particularly the difficulties in helping parents to change their belief systems (conceptual changes) and to think and act in new ways about child development. A further problem involves helping parents to continue positive behaviors once taught them, and to help them develop new strategies that are age appropriate as their children grow. Effective family literacy programs can teach specific behaviors while providing the rationale for them, which seems an effective technique. However, it appears that long-term interventions may be necessary to make new behaviors and attitudes stick.

According to Dickinson, multicomponent strategies, those that initiate a wide range of activities for adults and children, seem to have the most significant effects on children's progress. Impediments to parent involvement in children's education include structural tensions around the roles of teacher and mother--stereotypes that interfere with learning--and conflicts around power relationships between parents and educators. From another perspective, parental involvement in children's education is reviewed by Topping (1986), who notes that, "despite the great upsurge of interest in parents as educators, and the development of many new initiatives of proven worth, it seems that there are many parts of the school system that the news has yet to reach" (p. 21). Family literacy programs wishing to involve parents successfully need to clarify roles of parents and staff and create links to the public school system.

Regarding evaluations of program success, Dickinson and others (Weiss and Jacobs 1988) warn of the problem of identifying relationships between program-induced maternal behaviors and child outcomes and of the difficulty of establishing causal relationships, a caution to be noted when evaluation of family literacy programs is undertaken.

Family Systems Theory

Another area of research germane to family and intergenerational literacy programs is that of family systems theory. The following concepts are taken from an article by Walker and Crocker (1988).

From this perspective, the family system is defined as "any social unit with which an individual is intimately involved, unlimited by generational or physical boundaries." Families are governed by sets of family rules, spoken or unspoken, that are unique to each. A primary objective is maintaining the stability (homeostasis) of the family unit (thus the possible difficulty of changing family literacy behaviors) and the idea of recursive causality. This means that children shape family life and influence parental behaviors at least as much as the family influences children. Effective interactions between parent and children are fostered through parent-child activities in family literacy programs.

Further, families exist in the context of neighborhoods, communities, and religious groups; relationships with these systems will affect the family's response to a program intervention. According to Coleman (1987), communities have "social capital"--the norms, social networks, and relationships between adults and children that are of value for the child's growing up. When social capital is present, civic, moral, and functional literacies are improved. Self-concept, attitudes, and motivations to succeed in school and as adults are enhanced. When social capital is low, so are literacies.

Many family programs that serve "families" are designed only for children and mothers. This focus on a subset of the family reduces the likelihood of success, according to Walker and Crocker. Although it is not always practical to include all family members (fathers, significant others, elders) in an intervention, administrators need to be aware of the degree to which a program's goals are consistent with the values of those in the " family." Without a contextualized approach, an individual family member's progress can be undermined by others. This fact probably has a lot to do with the high attrition rate from adult basic education; attendance may be disparaged, even forbidden, by influential family members (Nickse 1990b). Hostility and aggression, from nonparticipating family members against those who participate is not uncommon. For family literacy programs, the implications are clear: the more members involved the better. Specific events for the entire "family" group--however "family" is defined by participants--such as potluck dinners, holiday parties, and outings, must be part of programming for maximum effectiveness.

Parents' Roles in Children's Literacy Development

Not only are the home and community environment important to developing literacy, but parents also play specific roles in children's literacy development. Parents are undeniably children's first teachers. Research evidence supports at least four areas where they affect children's reading achievement. Parents create a literacy-rich environment supplied with books and everyday materials, share reading and writing activities, daily exhibit the naturalness of literacy in their own lives as reading models, and demonstrate positive attitudes toward education (Nickse 1990c; Nickse, Speicher, and Bucheck 1988).

Pioneering work in the field of children's reading established the importance of parents reading to children. In studies of early readers Durkin (1966) found that, although IQ, sex, and socioeconomic class were not significant in explaining differences between children, every early reader had been read aloud to, had had literacy-related questions answered, had parents who read for pleasure, and had been provided with writing materials. Replications of this study by other researchers in the United States and other countries

(Canada, Australia, and Israel) have confirmed this finding (Radecki 1987).

Sadly, there are homes that do not encourage young children's literacy development. Here, children not only miss the "literacy coddling" of their parents, they may grow up in environments where writing and reading are peripheral and peripherally valued activities (Stahl, Osborn, and Lehr 1990). These children miss the thousands of hours of storybook reading experienced by more fortunate children before they enter school, and thus may also miss critical steps such as learning the alphabet and mastering the skill of phonemic segmentation learned from storybook time. Research in homes of 22 preschool children found that literacy events averaged less than 2 minutes per day for some children and there were others for whom there was no storybook reading at all (Teale 1986). Children who miss storybook time often start formal schooling as less prepared prereaders.

Compelling too is the evidence that parents' educational level, particularly mothers', is related to children's school achievement. Children's performance on various literacy tests across age groups (from 9-25 years) and across ethnic groups (Black, white, and Hispanic) confirms the importance of parents' and especially mothers', educational level (Sticht 1989). In many ways, then, parents' own literacy achievement is critical to that of their children. In middle-class homes these are such normal behaviors and attitudes we are all but unconscious of them; they are embedded as routine in our lives. For a variety of economic, social, and educational reasons, low-literate, poor parents have a more difficult time in establishing these conditions for their children; family and intergenerational literacy programs can help. Low-literate parents can be positive and supportive models for their children, helping them in many ways to achieve school success (Clark 1983). Family literacy programs can offer concrete suggestions to parents who are eager to help their children but are unsure of how to do this successfully.

Cultural Differences

Immigration is changing the face of communities across the country. Among the newcomers to the United States are many families that have been displaced from their homelands. As they settle into their new country, they face formidable challenges, not the least of which is learning the English language. According to a Census Bureau survey (Bliss 1986)--

- 37 percent of adults classified as illiterate do not speak English at home;
- 82 percent of adults classified as illiterate were born outside the United States;
- 21 percent entered the country within the last 6 years;
- 42 percent live in neighborhoods where English speaking does not predominate; and
- up to 86 percent of non-English speakers illiterate in English may be illiterate in their native language.

Since many intergenerational and family programs serve Black, Hispanic, and Asian minorities, insights into the particular challenges of working with families that are culturally different are critical to program success. Slaughter (1988) writes specifically about programs for Black families: "Too often we have not asked ourselves what we know, historically and culturally, about the families we intend to serve and what we need to know in order

to design programs effectively for them. At best, we have relied on a few informants in the immediate community rather than conducting systematic studies ... about the group" (pp. 467-468). This admonition applies as well to work with Hispanic and Asian families.

American families are more diverse than uniform in their content, structure, and organization. Since this diversity is one of the country's strengths, program developers need to work harder to know more of the specifics about the communities and neighborhoods that are home to program participants. This is especially true in family literacy programs.

Slaughter and others (Weiss, Hausman, and Seppanen 1988) urge a cultural-ecological mode for family support programs; this perspective should guide family literacy programs as well. Culturally consonant intergenerational and family programs are the ideal. Participatory program design is an excellent approach that involves parents in planning, thus going a long way to ensure that their concerns are incorporated. Some family literacy programs are sensitive to cultural differences; others try to overlook or ignore them, possibly to the detriment of both participants and the program. Such ignorance may contribute to high dropout from traditional adult literacy programs, estimated at between 30 and 50 percent (Balmuth 1986).

Family education programs in the field of early childhood show sensitivity to family characteristics and differences in a number of ways (Goodson, Swartz, and Millsap 1990):

- Translating materials and using bilingual staff
- Hiring program staff who are similar to the parents in background, race, and/or ethnicity
- Varying curricula and teaching approaches for different cultural groups
- Making curricular agendas flexible to accommodate family circumstances

Programs that involve parents in participatory curriculum development celebrate cultural differences as well as empower parents.

Changing skills, attitudes, and behaviors at a family level is a complex matter, and the parents' authority and competence must be respected. Since child-rearing practices are strongly shaped by community values, sensitivity to cultural differences is especially important in family programs. Staff are often faced with family problems and practices that are unfamiliar--supportive and nonjudgmental attitudes work best. Group discussions help parents and staff to express their own values while learning different points of view. From another perspective, adult students are more vulnerable in family literacy programs. More of their lifestyles may be revealed than in traditional programs, as well as intimate details about family practices (Nickse 1990b). Their trust must not be violated.

Corporate Concerns

Child care and elder care are two increasing worries of employees, and what worries workers affects their employers. This is a national trend and there is strong evidence that care obligations tend to increase employees' time out of office, excessive phone use, tardiness, worry, and loss of sleep. These concerns affect productivity, which is the bottom line for employers. Some surprising facts:

- At the Stride Rite Corporation, a 1988 survey indicated that about 25 percent of the workers had some responsibility for an aging parent, and another 13 percent expected to face the issue in the next 5 years.

- By the year 2000, almost half the employees in the work force will be providing child care, elder care, or both. Now, about 40 percent of the work force is involved.

- Studies show that employees tend to lose 5 days per year on average because of problems in providing care for members of the family.

- The lack of child care in businesses costs the U.S. economy about $3 billion a year, jeopardizing economic growth as more women are needed to enter the work force.

What causes corporations to provide child care services to employees? For a company with concerns about equal opportunity, decreasing turnover and absenteeism and increasing productivity, and building a positive image in the community, providing child care is a sensible choice. Without adequate child care today, tomorrow's work force will have handicaps to learning that will affect their job performance. Child care is no longer just a family matter: the delivery of high quality day care to low-income working parents is a broad societal issue. Family literacy programs, of course, can be added to existing child care programs since their objectives are complementary.

Another workplace concern is a need to improve employees' basic skills. The following quote from Lee Iacocca, Chairman of the Chrysler Corporation, attests to this concern: "On the final lines today, we have people that can't read or write. Maybe 20 or 25 percent of workers at some of these plants are illiterate" (Gardener 1989, p. 3A).

Clearly, low literacy affects both men and women in the workplace, but the literacy situation for women in general is a special concern, as two of three new job entrants by the 21st century will be women. As the basic skills requirements of the workplace increase, the need for increased literacy emerges. More jobs will require basic and higher order skills--only 27 percent of all new jobs will be low skilled, shrinking opportunity for those without a high school education. With women entering the work force in larger numbers, their particular needs, different from men, are highlighted. Low-income single mothers and other low-literate women face problems so overwhelming that literacy, including family literacy, must be one element of a comprehensive strategy designed to offer opportunities for success as a parent, worker, and individual (Kerka 1989). Linking literacy education to employment and training programs can be a significant factor in improving women's basic skills and creating a foundation for increased employability.

Family and intergenerational literacy programs focus on elemental concerns of parents who raise children alone. If the majority of children are going to be raised by single mothers, then the impact of a woman's literacy extends beyond her own social position and self-esteem to affect that of her children (National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education 1988). The social and economic costs of low literacy are widespread and the impacts on women and children are dramatic: important measures can be taken at the workplace.

When introducing the family education program "Linking Home and School through the Workplace," Jerome M. Rosow, President of the Work in America

Institute, said that "employers and labor unions have the facilities and the economic motivation to deliver assistance to parents in the most cost-effective manner" (Bureau of National Affairs 1990, p. 656). Other corporations agree, but their numbers are very small indeed.

Summary

This section has documented some of the research base for developing family and intergenerational literacy programs. Theoretical justification for program development is strong. However, because programs are new, there is little empirical evidence to document whether they might work as well as anticipated. The family literacy concept represents an opportunity to use the accumulated research knowledge from several fields and to merge findings from studies across many disciplines. It also provides an opportunity to create its own literature with a multidisciplinary focus.

The following section presents information about family literacy practice in five sectors. It includes overviews, specific activities of family and intergenerational literacy programs, some issues they confront, and the impact and effects of programs.

THE PRACTICE

A brief overview of family and intergenerational literacy agendas in five sectors is sketched in this section. Some characteristics of programs in general are described and some issues and concerns addressed. There is a modest collection of data on program success, and impacts from several programs and studies are noted.

Adult Basic Education

The traditional role of the federal program in adult basic education (Adult Education Act, P.L. 100-297, Titles I and II) has been to provide literacy and adult basic education to adults 16 years and over, usually without a high school diploma, who are in need of basic education or skills. Table I further describes this act, which enables states to initiate new activities in the basic education of adults. Now, programs funded through the Adult Education Act (AEA) are reaching out to families in a growing awareness of the interconnectedness between parents' literacy and that of their children.

According to the Division of Adult Education of the U.S. Department of Education, which administers the AEA, there were more than 460 adult basic education programs with family literacy components funded in 1990 through Section 321, the general discretionary funds account. Additionally, about 14 Special Projects programs authorized as demonstrations by Section 353 of the AEA were developed to "break the cycle of intergenerational illiteracy" (Seibles 1990). Programs bring parents and children together in learning situations, and each is taught, among other subjects, skills that develop literacy. These programs require cooperation between adult education and other programs for children, who range in age from early childhood to 12th grade; each is designed to meet local needs.

Generally, parents are offered instruction in basic skills and parenting. A family literacy program may enroll parents during the day or in the evening if they are employed. Children may also receive instruction (but not always). Sometimes they are instructed separately by an early childhood specialist; they also may spend time with their parents and program staff to enhance communication skills and literacy interactions.

Parents served by family literacy programs are in need of basic skills instruction; may be receiving public assistance; are, or may become parents of Head Start or Chapter I children (those served by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act); may be refugee families; and have preschool or young school-aged children (Seibles 1990). Programs may collaborate with other agencies (public schools, libraries, community-based organizations), and some share programs with universities, community colleges, and corporations. Through Even Start, the new federal initiative in family literacy, adult basic education is often joined in a collaboration to serve adults and their children.

Library Programs

Federal funds for libraries continue to be an important source of money for literacy programs in communities across the country. Combined funding through two federal legislative initiatives, Titles I and VI of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA), reached about $8 million in 1989. Since 1986, LSCA Title I has provided approximately $5 million yearly to states for local literacy programs, and some states have provided additional monies. LSCA Title I monies are given to the states and then distributed in a competitive grants program administered at the state level. Local programs can be funded directly by the U.S. Department of Education under LSCA Title VI (Library Literacy Program) through a grants application process. In Fiscal Year 1989 more than $4 million was distributed to libraries in 47 states through this initiative. Table 1 reports further details of these programs.

Additionally, the American Library Association promotes individual library involvement in the literacy effort. It has joined forces with the Bell Atlantic Corporation to provide grants to public libraries in the Mid-Atlantic region and to establish a national clearinghouse on family literacy to share project results (BCEL 1990a). The issue of literacy is one of three themes to be addressed at the White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held in 1991.

Each year, a federal report provides a descriptive analysis of library projects funded through LSCA Title VI. A section of a current report (Humes and Cameron 1990) discusses family and intergenerational literacy programs. The number of these programs has increased significantly, from 5 percent in 1988 to 18 percent in 1989--an increase from 11 to 38 projects with this thematic focus. The increase in interest is attributed in part to Project Literacy U.S. (PLUS), which emphasized a family literacy approach in its television programs, and to the Bush Foundation's activities, along with a more general and continuing interest in the development of literacy.

The traditional role of libraries has been to nurture and foster reading and to maintain book collections of interest and use to the community. Effective libraries have collaborations with public schools, have employed children's librarians who conduct story hours, and have special children's areas. Unfortunately, some libraries have been frequented most by readers and have not traditionally attracted low literate parents and their children, nor have staff been trained to work with low literate or culturally different families. These are barriers that libraries seek to eliminate. As neighborhoods change and are affected by changing housing patterns and immigration, libraries rise to meet the challenge: intergenerational and family literacy programs are an innovative response. Programming includes activities for parents alone such as parenting discussions as well as individual or small-group tutoring. Children participate in story times, puppet shows, and guided library use. Together, parents and children enjoy reading a variety of children's books. The library as a site for these activities is an example of nonschool social networks where cognitive development can be encouraged (Sticht and McDonald 1989).

In a recent publication (Johnson and Edmonds 1990), perspectives on family literacy library programs are discussed, with modes of service delivery identified, a continuum of involvement illustrated, and family literacy activities in library programs described. Ideas about planning programs and issues related to programs at library sites are explored. For libraries, the concept of "modeling" underlies the

practical design of a family literacy program, with parents, librarians, and adult caregivers providing examples of reading behavior for children.

Goals of family literacy library programs include helping parents and adult caregivers to understand the importance of modeling behaviors for children, improve the reading skills of parents and other caregivers, enhance the reading readiness of preschool children, and help parents understand their roles as advocates for their children. There is also a desire to improve self-esteem in both parent and child and to increase parenting skills, especially those related to reading. The types of programs developed by libraries depend on the expertise available, community needs, and resources. According to Johnson and Edmonds, there are three basic service models, from minimum to maximum involvement, which involve various degrees of collaboration with other agencies.

Among the pioneers, California, New York, and Massachusetts have funded programs in family reading. Massachusetts funded one of the first programs for incarcerated mothers encouraging them to read to their children (Quezada 1989). Individual libraries have developed creative programs; several are described in the Appendix.

Family English Literacy Programs

An early sponsor of intergenerational projects is the Family English Literacy Programs (FELP) funded through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title VII Bilingual Education). Table 1 provides additional information about this act.

The programs were begun in FY 1985 under the aegis of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) of the U.S. Department of Education. The act provides grants to local educational agencies, institutions of higher education, and private nonprofit organizations. Although the primary focus of OBEMLA is on serving children, the FELP program is focused on nonnative adult speakers--adults, parents, and out-of-school youth. The purposes of the grant awards are to establish, operate, and improve family English literacy programs; to help limited English proficient (LEP) adults achieve competence in English; and to provide instruction on how family members can facilitate the educational achievement of LEP children.

Among the program descriptions in a recent directory, fewer than five mention parent-child activities as an objective; however, 22 mention parenting skills as a program component (U.S. Department of Education 1989). A more detailed report would identify the philosophies and methods used and the meaning of "family English literacy" in the context of these programs. It is not clear whether adults and children receive services at the same time individually, or together at any time. A project evaluation is underway, with a descriptive report due in 1991, that will provide a comprehensive look at these important programs (Mahoney 1990).

The projects are targeted at parents and their children who are primarily in grades K-12. Grants are made for a maximum of 36 months, the average grant for 1 year is about $150,000 with a range from $90,000 to $160,000. The total number of projects is 37 in 15 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Participants include 6,029 persons from 22 different language groups. Grants are administered by local educational agencies, institutions, and nonprofit agencies. Collaborations are encouraged at the local level, stressing adult basic education partnerships since

much expertise in literacy development is offered by these providers; duplication of effort is thus avoided.

Recent immigration has markedly increased the number of adults and children needing English language services. The opportunity for LEP children to practice English at home is greatly diminished when the home language is not English, which in turn affects their school achievement. Frequently, recent arrivals are adults who may be older siblings or relatives--they act as caretakers in the absence of parents. When the families are reunited, the children often act as translators for their parents, leaving little incentive for parents to learn to speak and write English (Kaiser and Gonzalez n.d.). This reduces the parents' opportunity to access job training programs and employment. The stress of immigration across generations is great, and intergenerational programs are important (Weinstein-Shr 1990; Weinstein-Shr and Lewis 1989).

The need for family English literacy programs seems clear, given the enormous pressures on English as a second language (ESL) in adult basic education. Between 1980 and 1988, the enrollment of native speaking adults in basic skills instruction declined by 5 percent; ESL increased by 129 percent (Pugsley 1990). A caution need be observed: it is not to be assumed that all non-English speaking homes lack effective literacy practices. There is evidence that many nonnative speaking homes support literacy in native languages and that home environments are also supportive of literacy development and use (Nash 1987). This means that different techniques and approaches should be used to recruit and retain LEP participants. Again, the need to understand the population served is critical to effective programming in family as well as adult literacy education (Auerbach 1989).

Preschool and Elementary Programs

A natural setting in which to conduct family and intergenerational literacy programs is in sites where preschool and elementary programs serve children. Besides Title VII (Family English Literacy Programs) several federal programs in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act support family initiatives, including the Family School Partnership Program (Title III, Part B) and Even Start (Chapter I, Title D). The Head Start Act administers its program through the Administration for Children, Youth and Families in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services as does the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program. Further information about these programs is found in Table 1. In a new development, Head Start programs will instruct all grantees to initiate literacy instruction as part of its services by 1992.

The Even Start program attracts many who are supporters of family literacy. The purpose of this legislation, introduced by Congressman William Goodling of Pennsylvania, is to promote the literacy of both parents and their children, aged 1-7. The Even Start Act encourages partnerships among providers and calls for parental involvement in the planning and design of programs, child care and transportation services, home- and center-based programs, and scheduling convenient for parents and children. Although funded initially at $14.8 million, below the authorized $50 million requested, the Even Start initiative signals policy concerns about the cycle of illiteracy. In 1989, 73 first-generation programs in 44 states were funded in urban and rural areas. Forty demonstration programs were added in 1990, and more will be added as funding becomes available. Targeted participants are parents eligible for adult basic education and their children who live in Chapter I cachement areas.

The legislation focuses on four key program components: parent and child together activities, adult literacy instruction, early childhood education, and parenting. Funds are awarded for 4 years as long as projects meet their goals. Among the products of this project are reports to Congress on the implementation of the legislation. A comprehensive national evaluation directed by Abt Associates, Inc. and RMC Research includes a national survey of 73 Even Start programs, case studies of 10 programs, a longitudinal study of children who have participated in Even Start, and local evaluations based on local needs. Basic research questions include the following information: the demographics of participant families, program implementation and processes, school readiness of children, parents' literacy, and parent-child interactions. Data will be gathered on what program models work best and why, whether the program is exemplary and transferable, and the short- and long-term effects of participation on children, parents, and families. This detailed study to be released in 1993 will provide an important national database for the family literacy movement.

Corporate and Workplace Programs

Family and intergenerational literacy programs are new to workplace settings. Few programs operate at present, but there is a growing interest and several exemplary programs exist. The justification for involvement of the business and industry sector in family education represents a rather radical restructuring of the relationships between employers and their employees and also between employers and the communities in which they are located. What are the reasons for this? Corporations are affected by recent changes in the social structure and work experiences of families that have altered the relationships between work and family life (Axel 1985). Companies are beginning to experiment with innovative personnel practices that make it easier for employees to manage their work and family lives more effectively. Demographics and changing social circumstances have increased the number of dual earner couples, unmarried couples, and single parents who are workers. These types of families have become, and will continue to become, more prevalent than traditional two-parent, single earner families. Flexible benefits and child care programs for new kinds of workers are responses to two specific problems perceived as having adverse impacts on employees' productivity and competitive edge. Axel suggests that responsive companies interested in family-supportive programs are those with a relatively high proportion of young, female, technically skilled, and/or nonunion workers, as well as firms with a family orientation or a strong sense of social responsibility.

Corporations face more than demographic shifts in worker profiles. There are also marked changes in values and attitudes among middle-class employees. Young adults are less likely to subordinate their personal and family lives to work, preferring instead to build roots in the community (with a growing resistance to frequent relocation) and to have more individual flexibility in work schedules. These attitudes are in sharp contrast to more common, but unwritten rules for getting ahead in a career. Spending long hours on the job regardless of family responsibilities, the strict compartmentalization of work and family concerns, and compliance with demands to travel and relocate without concern for family priorities are more traditional practices that are now being questioned.

Increasingly, employees need to feel in control of their lives, and benefits tailored

to parents acknowledge concerns for families. Enlightened organizations are in the minority, however, and the tension between the spheres of work and family responsibilities, for child and elder care, is the norm. A paramount concern is child care, because two of the overwhelming problems parents face are the costs and shortage of high quality child care (Magid 1986). For poor working women, the problem is exacerbated.

Organizations considering initiatives can choose among options. Employers can sponsor financial assistance programs in which child care slots are purchased from vendors and offered to parent-employees; use vouchers, which help defray the costs of placements in local child care centers; or sponsor direct child care at or near the job site, including centers and before- and after-school programs. These may be sponsored by a single employer or through a child care consortium managed by several employers in a cooperative arrangement. However, workplace childcare programs do not usually offer family or intergenerational literacy programs, but child care (Alamprese, forthcoming). Examples of some exceptions sponsored by corporations are described in the Appendix.

It is apparent that both public and private sectors have interests and activities in family and intergenerational literacy. Each sector has special strengths in family literacy work, and each faces some challenges. Table 2 summarizes these points.

General Program Characteristics

Regardless of the sector in which programs are administered, they have some program characteristics that define them. A sampling of the variety is described here, and profiles are included in the program descriptions in the Appendix. Brief outlines of 12 programs are given and contacts are listed for those who wish further information.

Program Design

There is no one model for either family or intergenerational literacy programs. They vary widely on a number of key dimensions, but programs also share several common characteristics. They are designed to meet individual, family, and community needs and available resources; most programs are locally developed. The more carefully designed programs are based on assessments of community situations. Program diversity is considered a strength: what works in one community may not in another. In some cases key program components are suggested or required by the sponsor (that is, home visits, a center-based program); in other instances, there is broad latitude in both design and administration. Adaptions or adoptions of specific models occur--for example, the Kenan Trust Family Literacy model in which staff are trained at a national center and then form a network of practitioners across the country.

Programs may be linkage models, linking together existing community programs for children with those for adults, or self-contained, with all services supplied by the administrative agent. In both cases, programs are complex and require orchestration of many players to succeed. In some instances, a corporation sponsors a program that is placed in the community, and participation is not necessarily limited to its employees. There are several examples of these programs in the Appendix.

Issues. Integration of services is a focus in a linkage model. The challenge is to form a coherent package of services from available programs in the community. The danger is that services are fragmented

TABLE 2

SECTOR STRENGTHS AND CHALLENGES IN PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Sector	*Strengths*	*Challenges*
Adult Basic Education	• familiarity and experience in working with adults • access to adult populations needing literacy skills • recruitment and retention techniques • professional staff in adult basic education • knowledge of adult literacy materals and techniques • experience in assessment of adults • linkages with social agencies, training programs, and further education	• insufficient funding • poor or inadequate sites for adult-child interaction • lack of full-time programs • part-time staff, with large numbers of volunteers needing training and supervision • marginal status in communities • lack of early childhood expertise • difficulty in collaborations with public schools • lack of current materials in early childhood and parenting education • lack of transportation and child care • recruitment and retention problems • lack of evaluation expertise and funds
Libraries	• large collections of books and materials for children and adults • community-based sites in "neutral" territory • informal programs that supplement school-based literacy objectives • professional staff familiar with children's and adults' literature • image as community literacy resource	• need for new kinds of staff with knowledge of adults' and children's literacy development • sensitivity to and awareness of cultural differences • increased outreach to communities • selling the concept of the library's role in community development of literacy • maintaining workable collaborations with adult basic education, schools and agencies • implementation problems • recruitment and retention • lack of evaluation expertise and funds
Family English Literacy	• cultural sensitivity and awareness in working with families • bilingual and bicultural staffs • familiarity and experience in working with adults • small, carefully tailored programs	• lack of appropriate curricula and materials • linking FELP with school programs and community agencies • implementation issues • recruitment and retention • costs to maintain program once started • lack of evaluation expertise and funds
Preschool and Elementary Education	• access to families in need through their children • professional staffs in child and literacy development • desire to improve parents' involvement in children's education • experience in evaluation of children's progress	• maintaining collaborations with adult basic education, business and industry, social services • training of staff to work with, and know about, adults' literacy improvement • cultural awareness and sensitivity to new populations • integration of programs for literacy development of children and adults • implementation issues • transportation for families and child care • costs to maintain programs once started • lack of evaluation expertise and funds

TABLE 2--*Continued*

SECTOR STRENGTHS AND CHALLENGES IN PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Sector	*Strengths*	*Challenges*
Corporations and Businesses	• benefits to employees needing child care and literacy development • increased positive visibility in communities • access to working adults • commitment that sets examples for other corporations and businesses • public-private partnerships extend resources, expertise, and mutual interests • a long-term perspective on the need to improve the skills of the labor pool • responsiveness to social and economic issues that affect the quality of work life	• recognition of family literacy broadly, rather than a narrow focus on workplace literacy • acceptance of the feminization of the workplace and willingness to accommodate, especially needs of Black women • awareness of, and sensitivity to, cultural differences • general resistance to change in the workplace • difficulties in marketing the concept of family literacy internally • the culture of organizations as male perserves, with strict separation of home and work life • recruitment and retention of employees in education programs • implementation and scheduling problems • costs • lack of evaluation expertise and funds

or contradictory in their messages to participants. In a self-contained model, integration of perspective and curriculum is easier since there is central planning and coordination. Developing such programs, however, risks program redundancies, which is expensive to a community. If the services are unique they do not replicate that which already exists.

Administratively, programs must adhere to the mandates, regulations, and policies imposed by their funding agencies and those who have fiscal responsibilities for the services. The restraints of the various collaborators all affect program design and management, including staff hiring, the use of paraprofessionals, and the duration and intensity of the program.

When corporations act as sponsors, administration of the project may be shared with other organizations or handled at the local level. The degree of corporate involvement varies with the programs.

Program Philosophies

Intergenerational and family programs are varied in design on many dimensions, yet most share a philosophy, consciously stated or not, that literacy improvement is best accomplished through a shared social process--a notion strongly supported by research. In local programs, this theoretical concept emerges in practice in techniques that stress interaction, for example, paired reading, read-alongs and story hours, peer group discussions of reading with practice, and a variety of other socially oriented reading techniques. Special family events and field trips, group meals, and family meetings also stress shared social interactions.

Issues. In some programs, clear mission statements and a detailed plan for action define the underlying philosophy that supports the activities. In others, little thought has been given to the program philosophy, and, like Topsy, "it just grows." Each has advantages. The first approach is a blueprint that helps ensure continuity and a stable orientation and is deliberate; the second approach is spontaneous, free form, and flexible, if a bit chaotic. For effectiveness, research in adult education favors the first approach.

Sponsorship and Program Isolation

Family literacy programs are developed by many groups independent of each other, are rooted in different sectors and networks, and are located in diverse settings, for example, in adult basic education centers, early childhood and elementary schools, correctional institutions, libraries, and community-based agencies. Programs are new, and they find it difficult to learn about and from each other.

Issues. Locally developed programs may be initiated because staff feel a need for new programming and have heard of the family literacy concept. Programs may develop without technical assistance, and staff may be unaware of appropriate research and materials. Those who receive federal grants may meet others doing this work at conferences held for grantees and are able to exchange information about practice. Regretably, there is a lack of communication among programs and across sectors because the appropriate mechanisms for sharing information are not yet established. At this early point in program development, this mechanism is much needed to avoid costly errors in program design. Much trial-and-error learning is going on, which is a characteristic of new program concepts.

Target Populations

Eligibility for participation in family literacy programs varies with the funding sources and sponsors who often define the criteria for enrollment. Targeted populations for family and intergenerational literacy programs include "at-risk" adults who are educationally disadvantaged and their families, newly literate adults, adult literacy students, teen parents and welfare families, and a few mothers in prisons. AFDC recipients and parents of children in Head Start, Title XX, and Chapter I programs are also targeted for services in rural and urban areas.

Adult participants range in age from teenagers to grandmothers, and the children involved from birth to middle-school age. Recruitment sometimes targets specific dyads: for example, low-literate Chapter I parents and their children (Nickse and Paratore 1988); Even Start families with children from 1-7 years; or mothers without high school diplomas with preschoolers--3- or 4-year-old children (PACE, Kenan).

In the corporate sector, employers seek to attract employees to programs as part of family-supportive work environments. As the composition of the work force changes due to demographic factors, populations new to the workplace replace traditional white male workers. Often, these workers are single mothers with children.

Issues. Who receives services is not a particular issue, since adults and children with educational needs are the targeted participants. Some programs serve families across a wide age span, others restrict services to a particular age group. Programs decide whether to serve families from particular geographic areas, or to concentrate on people from similar ethnic backgrounds or at a particular site. One concern is that eligibility criteria for participation "cream" the most able adult learners by stressing earning a high school diploma, rather than reaching out to those who are least literate and the hardest to reach. At the workplace, employers provide opportunities for their own employees or for families in communities in which they have facilities. The real issue is the appropriateness of the services to the needs of the participants.

Recruitment and Retention

Many different strategies are used to recruit and retain participants. The press, radio, and television are used, as are many varieties of printed materials, brochures, posters, and flyers. Personal contact is quite successful as a strategy. Community liaisons visit homes, local churches, and social agencies. Cooperating organizations such as housing authorities refer families. Volunteers travel to homes and walk participants to centers. Transportation and child care may be provided to reduce these real barriers to participation. Breakfast, lunch, and snacks are served. When food stamps run short, this service is most welcome. Stipends may be offered for transportation, gasoline, and toys and books. Graduations, holiday celebrations, and field trips are used to promote the program and retain participants. Expanded services to families may be one reason that family literacy programs experience better retention than traditional adult basic education programs.

Issues. Programs use many techniques to recruit participants, but recruitment and its companion, retention of participants, are major problems. The concept of family and intergenerational literacy is new, and marketing the concept takes time. Adults are not used to their children accompanying them to instruction, and the idea takes a while to get accepted. Word-

of-mouth and personal contact remain the single best way to build program support and participation among families. Staff try hard to break down the isolation that often affects families, whether they live in rural or urban areas. Some families are not able to spend large amounts of time in intensive programs. The need to work and heavy family responsibilities make it difficult for many to participate. Staff have found that they must be sensitive to routines of family life. Some programs schedule staff meetings on the day that participants' welfare checks arrive, knowing that protecting checks takes precedence over class attendance.

Family mobility and erratic attendance patterns are also common complaints. Families often move around in the community, out of the program area, or, if they are migrant workers or between-country commuters, leave the state altogether at certain intervals. Those programs able to provide transportation and child care find participation easier. An air-conditioned, attractive site can help recruitment immeasurably.

There are tales of "customer resistance"--programs are all set up, but few families attend or remain for a sufficient time for the services to have effects. An explanation is tendered that parents believe they are good parents and feel they do not need help with "parenting." Programs have learned to rename this component, calling it "parent time" or "discussion time," which is usually an effective strategy. In the same vein, programs have learned to eliminate the word "literacy" from their titles and recruitment, since this can also offend or frighten prospective participants.

Program Length and Size

The frequency, duration, and intensity of services for each group varies a great deal from one program to another. For example, the PACE and Kenan models are very intensive and require attendance of parent and child at school sites 3 days per week for 6 hours per day, for 9 months of the year. Each site is equipped to serve 15 families. Such intense participation is only possible if the mother is not working, or if the program schedules activities when working parents are free.

Other programs are larger, serving more than 100 families per year, but with less intensity and shorter duration; some operate year round, with the same or different activities in the summer months. Size is a function of funding, available space, recruitment and retention techniques, staff expertise and commitment, and the history and location of the program.

Issues. Program length, size, and intensity reflect decisions made by staff and the resources available. Some choose to serve many families less frequently, others serve a small number for several years, if conditions permit. Obviously, expected program outcomes for families will differ depending on the number of contact hours participants receive.

Instructional Groupings and Methods

Stripping away the variations, services are generally offered for three instructional groupings: parents/adults alone, children alone, and parents/adults and children together. The primary focus may be on each of the groups separately, or in some combination. Instructional methods include large and small group classes and discussions; parent meetings; tutoring; parent-to-parent interactions; speakers; computer use and computer-assisted in-

struction; television, videos, films; home visitors; and site visits. Field trips and special "literacy events" such as parent rallies are all methods for teaching and learning. A sample of activities used in programs is detailed in Table 3 on page 41.

Issues. There is evidence that at least two strategies used may be ineffective. Lancy (1988) notes that the techniques parents use in reading to children vary greatly. Effective techniques (relating the story to the child's experience, for example) help foster positive attitudes about reading, but other techniques turn children off if poorly done. Removing clues by covering up the pictures in the book, for example, does not facilitate the storytime experience for the child. Another technique, read-aloud contracts, asks parents to pledge to read to children a minimum of three times or 30 minutes per week, which can be an unrealistic expectation for those with little tradition of family reading, skill to do this, or books in the home to use (Nickse, Speicher, and Bucheck 1988). Intimidation of parents is surely to be avoided. There is evidence that parents can be taught to select appropriate books and learn to read them aloud to children using effective techniques, which help both parent and child to improve literacy (Edwards 1989; Handel and Goldsmith 1988b; 1989).

Sites and Facilities

Classrooms in schools are set aside for use by parents and children, and specially equipped Parents' Rooms are created in neighborhood schools. Community centers, libraries, prisons, community-based agencies, and homeless shelters house center-based instruction. Some family literacy programs in rural areas find home-based services the only feasible form of outreach, due to geographic isolation, poor or nonexistent transportation, long travel distances, severe weather conditions, or a lack of an appropriate meeting space in communities.

Specially designed Family Learning Centers represent a new kind of facility for housing dual programs for adults and children (Nickse, forthcoming-a). Programs may be located in renovated storefronts, trailers, or temporary classrooms dedicated to family literacy instruction. Abandoned school buildings may be reopened and renovated, and playgrounds created or refurbished. Space for toddlers and infants is created complete with high chairs, play pens, and washers and dryers adjacent to rooms where parents work at computers to improve their literacy. Transportation to the site, which is important to program success, is easier to provide if services are not dispersed throughout a community.

Issues. There are many advantages to a dedicated site that provides facilities for infant and toddler care, early childhood activities, parent literacy, and parenting instruction. Parents are never far from their children. There is the added opportunity to observe professionals as they work with youngsters. Staff can encourage parents to try new behaviors with their children, first with supervision and then alone. Parents act as volunteers in classrooms or assist staff in program processes. In some locations, a dedicated site becomes a gathering place for families--a kind of center for family learning--which breaks down social isolation and encourages a new sense of community.

Collaborations

Many programs involve collaborations with several agencies in partnerships. This aspect is significant in Even Start as it is stressed in the legislation. This

differentiates family and intergenerational literacy programs from other educational programs. Since no one agency is an authority on child development, adult literacy, and parenting, family programs need a multidisciplinary approach, and that is best obtained through collaborations. These may involve public-private partnerships, agency-to-agency collaborations, or any configuration that draws on the experience and resources of persons and institutions interested in the development of family programs. Collaborations may be formal and completed with contracts, or informal agreements, based on handshakes. Strong collaborations may share decision making, staffs, and facilities, while others have more loosely involved relationships. Effective models for such collaboration are needed. Suggestions for the steps involved to develop them are reported in a useful monograph (Habana-Hafner 1989).

Issues. In many instances, collaborations are new relationships, difficult to initiate and maintain, but well worth the effort in the long run (Nickse 1990a, 1990d, forthcoming-b; Nickse and Englander 1985b). Shared ownership of a successful program builds trust and pride and helps to ensure its stability. Stakeholders invest emotion and resources in projects, which balances real problems in joint administration. Turf protection, constraints in services and schedules, overburdened staff, and changing representatives from agencies test the patience and operating processes of collaborations. The need to keep all members of the partnership informed is also an issue. However, many are learning to overcome these problems and share community enthusiasm for family literacy projects.

Staffing

As the reader may suspect, there are many forms of staffing for family literacy projects, with a mix of professionals and paraprofessionals common. Depending upon the sector that sponsors the programs and the program design, staffs consist of early childhood teachers, adult basic education and English as a second language specialists, librarians, social workers, home visitors, community liaisons, curriculum experts, evaluators, graduate students, college work-study students, and volunteers. Staff may act as advocates for program participants, particularly in community-based organizations. Health staff may be involved, and parents themselves may have responsibilities, either while they are in the program or after they have "graduated" from its services.

Appropriate selection of staff and their training in team approaches is a factor in successful program operations. Inservice training is often a component, but the amount of time spent varies with the program. New types of jobs are emerging in family literacy work, for example, parent home visitor, not generally classified in school administration structures.

Issues. Selection of staff can be complicated by a need for experts who can work together, sharing expertise in early childhood and adult basic education. The role of volunteers in programs is a consideration. Some programs use none, or only parent participants; others depend on volunteers for a variety of tasks. There are other problems. For instance, hiring multidisciplinary staff when operating funds are scarce and the coordination of staff who are full and part time can be difficult. Interactions with families in need can be emotionally draining; staff burnout is a factor and contributes to staff turnover.

Staff training is a necessity and poses a challenge for projects. Programs are complex and filled with administrative details; finding time for training is a major concern. Then, too, the variety of topics of interest and concern to staff is quite broad, touching on literacy development, early childhood education and development, parenting, adult development, and family systems theory, among others. Good staff training takes resources as well as time.

When professional and paraprofessional staffs are employed together, there are differences in salaries, benefits, and status (Goodson, Swartz, and Millsap 1990). Staff do not necessarily work the same number of hours or enjoy equal pay and benefits. This is a sensitive area confronted by program directors and emerges as a policy matter to be negotiated.

Curriculum Content

Table 3 summarizes some typical curricular content and activities for parents, parents and children together, and children alone. Within different administrative frameworks, program activities range on a continuum from a simple focus on building enjoyment for reading to complex academic objectives that include direct instruction in literacy, for example, adult basic reading for parents and prereading activities for children.

Resources are created and distributed through programs, in the form of "make and take" toys, toy and book lending libraries, and book and toy give-aways. Networks are developed for exchanges of good used clothing, furniture, and baby equipment. Other activities include training of full- and part-time staff and volunteers, advocacy services and training for parents, and provision of support services to participants, such as stipends for travel, hot meals and snacks, child care, and transportation.

Issues. Some programs use the few commercially produced curricula for each component of the program. The purchase of a complete and integrated curriculum for a program is rare, and probably not feasible because of variations in program goals and objectives and the populations served. There are some appropriate materials in each sector from which to choose; adult literacy and ESL materials and early childhood and parenting education curricula are available. There is a lack of materials for family and intergenerational programs, especially those that are culturally appropriate. Staff often develop materials using an eclectic approach (Staryos and Winig 1985).

Steps toward literacy involve sensitive psychological and behavioral changes that may contradict long-held family and community values and alter social networks. There are costs as well as benefits to individuals in becoming literate that are seldom mentioned, which are properly addressed through sensitive curricular designs.

When families and communities do not place a value on education, adults may not become literate without a high degree of personal stress. Social networks of long standing, formerly a source of support to the learners, may reject them. Family members may become abusive or even forbid participation, fearing personal changes that may threaten old relationships. On occasion, the newly literate may need to distance themselves from family or friends who cannot cope with their lessened dependency, and this causes anxiety and stress. Good programs are aware of this contradiction and use counseling and group discussion to help ameliorate such painful outcomes. Building new social networks through participation provides

TABLE 3

PROGRAM CURRICULUM/ACTIVITIES BY TARGETED PARTICIPANTS

Targeted Participant	*Curriculum/Activity Type/Content*
Parent Alone	• literacy, basic skills, ESL, GED/H.S. diploma instruction • community college courses • curriculum instruction in parenting, health, nutrition, job search, whole language writing projects (keeping logs and diaries, writing children's stories) • employment training • resume writing • orientation to schools and schooling • parent advocacy instruction • volunteer work in children's site • acculturation workshops and discussion • computer literacy and word processing • parent clusters and dinner meetings • parents as advisory board members to projects • classes and discussions in appropriate child development practices • specially designed parenting materials • new parents' classes • father/father surrogate projects • parent-child communications; counseling and referral • advocacy • minicourses in career identification and awareness • mentoring programs • parent training in reading to children • appropriate book selection • coaching in playing with children • modeling of good reading practices with peer rehearsals
Parent-Child Together	• modeling tutor/child/parent • story telling • book talks • side-by-side reading • make and take workshops • field trips to zoos, museums, libraries, parks, historical sites • other educational field trips • home visits with distribution of books, toys, reading and arts and crafts materials • "modeling" of good child development practices • book give-aways • Reading Is Fundamental parties • family computer events, take-home computer activities • computer literacy and games • joint word processing • family parties for holidays • cultural celebrations • family workshops for make and take toys • cooking together • films and video viewing • family and children's hours • lap-sits • read alouds • read-in sleep-overs • programs by story tellers and authors • commercially published programs in family reading • identification of health problems and assistance

SOURCE: Nickse (forthcoming-b)

TABLE 3--*Continued*

PROGRAM CURRICULUM/ACTIVITIES BY TARGETED PARTICIPANTS

Targeted Participant	*Curriculum/Activity Type/Content*
Child Alone	• early childhood programs (Head Start, High Scope, Hippy) • follow-through • daycare for infants and toddlers • kindergarten programs • locally developed curriculum • summer day camps • summer reading programs • book and game clubs • music and art activities • reading competitions • lap-sits • reading and story telling events

families with needed emotional support and new friendships. Despite this downside, programs have ambitious goals and are critically important, as a recent report on adult literacy points out (Chisman 1989).

Cultural Differences

According to experts, in most cultural settings the everyday interactions between mother and child constitute the paramount aspect of the social environment of childhood. The following concepts are extracted from an article on maternal behavior by Laosa (1981).

Studies of mother-child relationships report the diverse patterns of mother-child behaviors among social and cultural groups and how these relationships develop. They are related to children's behaviors outside of the maternal relationship and the family setting. Mothers in everday interactions with children function as teachers. Much of the implicit curriculum and instructional methods used in the home with children in their early years is mediated by the mothers' teaching strategies.

Yet a major concern in these studies is how to define "socially competent mothering." Each socio-culture has a formula for customary parental behavior, evolved over time, which is largely successful under conditions of relative stability. Conflicts can occur when behaviors that are adaptive within one sociocultural community are viewed as maladaptive or deviant in another setting or under new conditions. Typically, states the author, "maternal competence has been defined as a unitary set of standards or norms, and almost without exception, the norms . . . have tended to represent the characteristics of the modal white middle class mother" (p. 163).

For example, a study of Chicano and Anglo-American mothers found clear cultural group differences in the pattern of maternal teaching strategies observed. The Anglo-American mothers used inquiry and praise more frequently than did the Chicano mothers. However, the Chicano mothers used modeling, visual cues, and directive and negative physical control more frequently than did the Anglo-Americans.

Laosa emphasizes that little evidence exists to indicate that either of these patterns of maternal teaching behavior makes for "better" mothering in any general sense. But there may be patterns of maternal teaching behavior that will better prepare the children for adapting to a given educational system and occupational niche. The author argues that the greater the "match" between the teaching strategies of the home and those of the school, the greater the likelihood that the child will make a smooth transition between the two milieus. The work of Heath (1983), Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988), and others cited earlier points to the discrepancies between teaching strategies at home and in schools.

The data on the possible differences between the two environments seem clear enough. Controversy arises, however, when two possible solutions are proposed. Both solutions have supporters. The issue, oversimplified here for emphasis, is this. Do we change the behavior of the children learned at home within their cultural context to fit the requirements of the schools? Or, do we change the practices of the schools to match the children's behaviors, learned so naturally in their homes and within their sociocultural communities? Advocates of both positions design educational interventions that have effects on adults' and children's learning.

Issues. Family literacy programs work with a wide variety of ethnic groups. Staff need to be particularly sensitive to differences in mother-child relationships and maternal teaching behaviors. Many ethnic minorities, in order to achieve socioeconomic mobility, must develop parental strategies of dual patterns of adaption: those that fit with the minority sociocultural setting and those of the dominant group (Laosa 1981). Learning new behaviors and new ways to interact with children may be quite stressful to parents who want to do what is best for their children.

Successful family education programs face the issues of ethnocentism squarely and with sensitivity. The notion of invoking the concept of "deficit" mothering or "social pathology" to explain differences in maternal behaviors has no place in family literacy programs.

Role of Parents

Simply stated, what is the role of parents in family and intergenerational literacy programs? Are parents to be trained as surrogate teachers working on school-based literacy tasks, or are they instead to learn the social significance of literacy and its value for themselves, then become transmitters of literacy to their children? When discussing or evaluating programs, we need to know which philosophy guides the development of the intervention used. Some developers believe that highly structured models that train parents by very direct instruction as "first teachers" of their children are the most valuable in changing skills, attitudes, and behaviors. Others believe that this direct mode focuses on training rather than on education, is "invasive" in its approach to changing parents' behaviors, and must be avoided for this reason. Parents can be involved in programs by taking the following roles:

- Learners--learning about themselves and improving their own literacy
- Teachers--learning about children and practicing with their own and others' children
- Models--demonstrating appropriate literacy behaviors to their families
- Tutors--learning to teach others using peer teaching
- Volunteers--taking on responsibilities in the program or in the child's school
- Advocates--joining with others on behalf of children or for one's own child
- Community Liaisons--doing recruitment, making home visits
- Curriculum Developers--developing culturally sensitive and appropriate materials
- Staff--planning and administering program processes, counseling, advocacy and outreach
- Advisory Board Members--responsible for policy decisions

Issues. The roles listed here are ordered from least to most degrees of involvement and intensity of participation. Program staff decide which of these roles they want parents to take based on their knowledge of the parents' abilities and on the attitudes and schedules of staff. Sometimes their decision is based less on parents' abilities and more on the convenience of the staff. Sharing power, that is, involving parents in major roles in the program with high degrees of responsibility, will not happen except by staff intent and program

design; some program staff are reluctant to do this. Others believe that developing parents' leadership and advocacy skills is fully as important as academic and parenting skills. It is a matter of program philosophy and goals.

For many programs, the argument about the roles of parents is moot because no philosophy guides the programs. The idea of developing family literacy programs seems an attractive and simple response to the growing awareness of the need for improved adult and child literacy. Some programs are developed and administered with little assistance from reading teachers, and without assistance from professionals with adult basic education and early childhood backgrounds. These programs need technical assistance to succeed.

Funding and Costs

As noted in the first chapter, programs are funded by both the public and private sector, through legislation at the federal and state level, through special projects monies and "seed grants," and from foundation sources. Locally, school districts and agencies make in-kind contributions and give matching grants and gifts, which are welcome forms of support. Book publishers donate books or offer them at reduced costs; other services are offered, including needed medical attention--eyeglasses and dentists' visits. Program costs vary according to the services offered, local salary scales for staff, the amount and kind of transportation and child care available, availability of on-site psychological counseling, and the sophistication of the site and its facilities.

Issues. Programs are often funded (1) at a low level and (2) for short time periods, two conditions that jeopardize their long-term success. An exception is Even Start, in which programs are funded for 4 years as long as program objectives are met. This seems a minimum commitment for establishing a new concept such as family literacy. Programs need time to establish collaborations with agencies, form support networks, and recruit participants to this new kind of educational service. Building trust within communities takes time and is essential if new populations are to be attracted and retained.

Program costs vary widely and depend on multiple factors: a clear idea of per contact hour expenditures or costs per family served is needed, although it may be difficult to establish a meaningful baseline for service when there is such program variation.

Evaluation

Do family and intergenerational programs work? This is the general question that awaits some definitive answers. There is modest but growing evidence that programs "work" depending on how success is defined. Evaluation tends to be informal and formative rather than summative, and the primary purposes are for program revision to improve program service delivery or to report to funders. Simple research designs are used: pre/posttesting or posttests only, and sometimes comparative and matched data are collected. Random assignment designs are rare, because it is often difficult to establish experimental and control groups. Erratic attendance and high mobility of the families affect rigorous data collections. There is also a well-founded fear that testing participants will drive them away from programs.

Instruments used for evaluation are commercially or locally developed and include the following:

- Interviews and questionnaires (with parents, staff, collaborators, children)
- Case studies of individuals and families
- Parent self-reports and evaluations
- Anecdotal records of participants and staff
- Observations of parents and children, alone and together
- Parent logs and journals
- Child assessments and observations
- Ethnographic studies of family literacy patterns
- Standardized tests for both adults and children

Programs involved in evaluation may use a combination of techniques.

Issues. Evaluation data are scarce and difficult to compare, because programs are so varied. At many sites techniques are crude or superficial because staff is not trained to perform evaluations or because impact data were never required before. A key point to remember is that programs are new, and some are under little pressure to evaluate. Nevertheless, there are modest data to suggest that programs are having impacts on participants. Table 4 notes some of these.

Evaluating family interactions and the multiple effects on adults and children tests the existing repertoire of techniques (Weiss and Jacobs 1988). Although some success is reported using time series and cohort studies with baseline data, case studies and ethnographic approaches are needed at this early phase in the work. As the need for more formal evaluations develops, specifications must be carefully done by those familiar with the sensitivity and difficulty of measurement in family interactions as well as literacy development. A key factor is that of unreasonable expectations for programs. Family literacy is uncharted territory, and there will be false starts and misleading data. The danger is that policy decisions will be made prematurely based on poor evaluation information. Long-term effects are the goal, and years of experimentation may be expected.

Another key factor that affects the quality of evaluations is financial. In general, family education programs (and family literacy programs) do not have the resources to conduct ongoing summative evaluation (Goodson, Swartz, and Millsap 1990). Some programs collect data, but cannot afford staff to analyze them (Heberle 1990). The need to report to funders is a chief reason for collecting data and often limits the kind and amount collected.

Promising work in this area includes the national evaluation of Even Start, which is a comprehensive and complex study. Information about this study can be obtained through the U.S. Department of Education. Another resource with suggestions for evaluation is a report issued by the Illinois Literacy Resource Development Center (1990), which outlines evaluation designs, instruments, and curriculum suggestions based on experiences in 25 family and intergenerational literacy project funded by their State Literacy Council. The National Center for Family Literacy also issues research reports as one of its functions (Darling and Hayes 1989).

Program Impacts and Outcomes

Table 4 summarizes some program impacts and outcomes. Because programs

have different goals, histories, and evaluation objectives, they are difficult to compare. Areas of impact include program implementation, program processes and administration, effects on parents' achievement, program retention, and children's readiness for school and school achievement. Demographic data on participants and the numbers who attend events give a picture of participation. Interest and enthusiasm are reported for events and activities, and for materials developed especially to aid families in literacy development. As new programs begin to collect data, evidence will accumulate. At this early stage in their development, even descriptive information is difficult to locate. The research community can assist in determining program effectiveness, but to date has been little involved. Basically, a lack of funds for research and evaluation and a lack of appropriate techniques and instruments limit sound judgments about program impacts at this time.

Summary

In describing programs in the five sectors, their great variety is apparent--as are their similarities. Dimensions on which they vary include the following:

- Program goals (narrow or broad);
- Settings where they are held
- The nature of the intervention
- The targeted beneficiaries
- Eligibility for participation
- Funding, sponsorship, and administrative responsibility
- Degree of collaboration with other agencies
- Program content and activities
- Nature of instruction used
- The use of evaluation and types of methods employed

Similarities include concern for literacy development and, more broadly, for human development. The diversity is healthy since no one type of program intervention can appeal to the broad range of literacy needs in the country. There are broad issues faced by each program and specific issues confronted in each sector.

What is important, however, is a need for a systematic way to collect and disseminate information about programs and a means to provide technical assistance by professionals across a variety of fields, adult basic, preschool and elementary, and bilingual education. Information from early childhood development, adult development, cognitive science, family systems theory, and bicultural awareness is needed to help ensure high quality programs. This merging of discipline fields is an opportunity for multidisciplinary efforts--collaborations that are rare in the history of social service interventions, but now seem essential for better quality (and perhaps when reorganized, less expensive) services that may gradually improve family literacy over time.

TABLE 4

FAMILY AND INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAMS: EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Study and Investigator	*Program Impacts*
Collaborations for Literacy (Nickse and Englander 1985b)	Using videotapes of Reading Rainbow, a noted TV reading appreciation series and related children's literature, parents enjoyed reading books with themes familiar to adults and children. Fantasy or nonsense books had little appeal to parents, and watching videos, for modeling in good reading practices, was thought by parents to be a waste of tutoring time.
FELP Program (Reyes-Gavilan, Garcia, and Diaz 1987)	All aspects of parent knowledge tested. Some slight differences noted in children's mat[illegible] and behavior.
Pennsylvania State University (Askov 1987)	Chapter I children and parents benefited from a specially designe[illegible] reading program; children's school attendance increased.
AVANCE (Rodriquez and Cortez 1988)	Data demonstrated the severity of deficiencies in parenting and economic stress, which was consuming any potential for improvement and well-being for participant families.
Clark University (Dickinson 1988)	Forty Family Education programs (of 500 studied) supported children's literacy; only eight were intergenerational.
Parents as Readers Program (Handel and Goldsmith 1988a)	Parents who are students in a community college improved their own reading scores on a criterion-based test; they reported more home use of books and increased use of the library.
Collaborations for Literacy (Nickse and Paratore 1988)	Children of Chapter I parent participants showed no significant gains in reading, but parents reported anecdotal data that suggest children benefited indirectly from parents participation in a year-long intergenerational reading program.
Families for Literacy (Solorzano 1989)	Matched data on 708 learners' progress after 3-5 months participation showed reading and writing levels increased, learners' perception of their skills increased, and the program had a positive impact on their employment status and confidence on their jobs.
Family Reading Program (Shaffer 1989)	One hundred seven libraries in 52 counties attracted 222,000 adults with children under eight to 1,293 hours of special literacy events. Increased service and membership to low and aliterate families, enriched families, enriched children's book collections, increased book circulation, increased awareness among staff of low literate families, and increased programming were positive results.
Kenan Trust Family Literacy (Darling and Hayes 1989)	Adults' scores in reading, writing, and math improved from one to three grade levels on a standardized test. In 1989, 10 percent had passed the GED tests. Children improved skills and were better prepared for kindergarten, based on well-known measures.
Collaborations for Literacy (Nickse 1989; forthcoming-b)	Chapter I parents increased scores on a standardized reading test, working with specially trained college work-study tutors in a program that emphasized parents' progress in reading and suggested parent-child literacy activities in the home: retention of parents, attributed to the family focus, was 75 percent in a 12-month program.

TABLE 4--*Continued*

FAMILY AND INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAMS: EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Study and Investigator	*Program Impacts*
Parent and Child Education Program (Heberle 1990)	Parent participants, using entry-exit measures, increased two grade levels on a standardized test: 70 percent passed the GED tests. Children showed gains on criterion-based measures designed for use with a validated early childhood program. Over 800 families served to date in 33 classrooms in 30 school districts.
Project TURN (Brown 1990)	Reports 350 parents have attended; parents report more reading with children in the family and acceptance for a specially designed parents' kit for new parents.
Family Learning Center (Nickse, forthcoming-a)	A specially designed experimental site in a storefront, open 65 hours a week, with daily ABE/ESL and weekend family literacy events attracted participation of 80 adults (the majority of them parents) and their children, in 10 months.

A TYPOLOGY FOR CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILY AND INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAMS

Family and intergenerational literacy programs are a new area for research and development. Their numbers are on the increase but the concept itself lacks a theoretical and conceptual base. This section offers a "first step" conceptual model with four generic types to organize programs by key components, and it speculates on the advantages and disadvantages of each. It describes 12 examples of practice that represent these types.

The variation among programs points to a need for a way to identify and classify programs. Program titles can be misleading, as was mentioned in chapter 1. It is difficult to extract information about practice from program names or titles. The theme of "intergenerational" and "family" literacy is a hot topic--but there is little agreement about the meaning of these two words and programs may use them interchangeably.

Adoption of a classification system or typology can clarify distinctions between programs by key components. A typology is useful for practitioners, researchers, and policy makers--it helps in planning programs, in discussing them, and in training staff. Its use can give a broader view of community literacy services (Nickse, 1990a,b). Of course, there are limitations to any typology. It tends to simplify phenomena, which is both a strength and a weakness. There are program examples of mixed model types, and there is variation within each type, a thought to be kept in mind. For example, Even Start programs may all be called "family literacy" programs, but there are great differences between the programs themselves. Further, no single model type is necessarily better than another, assuming a needs assessment has preceded the design of the program and influences the practice. There are many avenues to improved literacy for adults and children.

There is a question about whether the adult and the child are present together for literacy development any or all of the time. Put another way, is the "family component" abstract or concrete? Adult groups learning hypothetically about reading to children constitute an abstract component. Children and adults reading together constitute a concrete component. Which is the best arrangement? Does it make any difference? If so, why? Another question is one of the degree of participation: the intensity, duration, and frequency of services. Some programs are very intense and high on degrees of involvement, others are lower. Does more time spent in a program result in more positive and lasting effects? These questions remain to be answered. However, one thing is clear. If the program is limited in frequency of contact to families to several hours a week, rather than several hours daily, the expected outcomes for literacy development will necessarily be different. The concept of success and the measures selected to document it are quite different for Type 1 programs than for Type 4 programs.

These distinctions are important for several reasons--at this early stage, we do not know which interventions, abstract or concrete, of long or short duration, of more or less intensity, are more effective with particular populations or for particular outcomes. Perhaps each is useful with identified populations; only research can answer this question. A central debate occurs around these issues, and programs are structured differently, depending on their philosophy on these points. The models pull out key components related to participation and target populations.

Models of Family and Intergenerational Literacy

The proposed typology is presented in figure 1. Although rather simple, the matrix provides an organizational framework to classify and examine program types broadly across two critical dimensions: (1) type of program intervention (Direct or Indirect) and (2) type of participation (Adults alone; Children alone; Adults and Children together). Primary participants receive direct services; secondary participants benefit indirectly. By labeling participants as "adults" rather than "parents," the matrix has broader application and encompasses programs that work with extended families and with unrelated adults and children. Representative examples of each type are included in the Appendix with program descriptions.

Some characteristics of the four program types have been described briefly in several articles (Nickse 1989; 1990a,b; forthcoming-b) and are here elaborated.

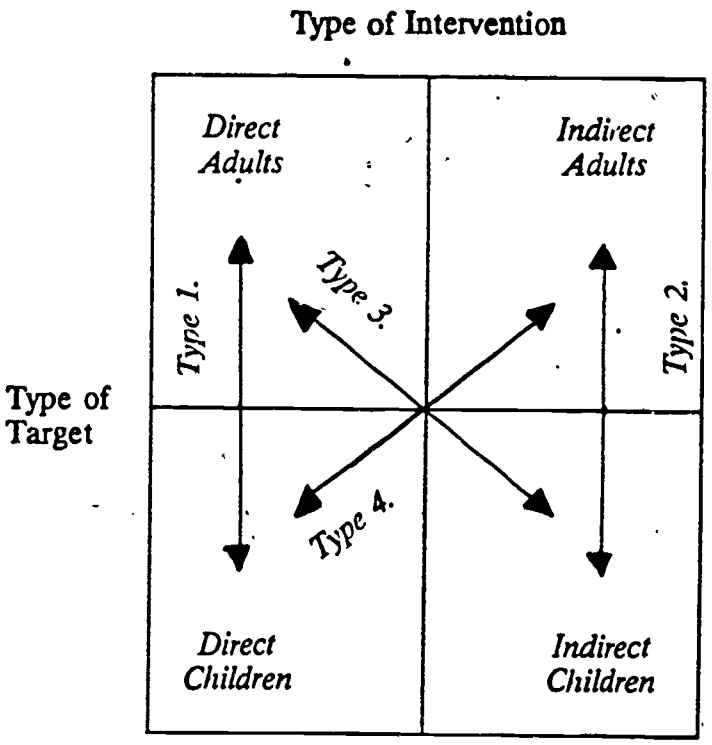

Figure 1. Typology of family and intergenerational literacy programs

Type 1. Direct Adults-Direct Children

Key characteristics of these programs are their frequency, duration, and integration. Intensive participation of adults who are parents (or acting as parents) with preschool children is required. This is a highly structured intervention. Educationally disadvantaged adults and their children may attend as often as daily for a minimum of 3 days per week (for example, 8 a.m.-1 p.m.) for up to 9 months. Parents attend literacy instruction and learn skills in various academic areas; they may also participate in parenting education, vocational training, or volunteer in the program or in children's classrooms. Parent-and-child together activities are also a key feature. Parents are taught to interact with their own children, to be "first teachers," to play with and read to them. In parent discussions, child development and parents' roles and responses are topics. Programs use a dual curriculum and direct instruction that is formal and class based. Children receive preschool or other direct instruction. Participation is supervised by professional adult basic education and early childhood teachers working as a team; there are established cycles for participation, and attendance is monitored. Validated curricula might be used for adults and children. Adults and children are the primary beneficiaries.

Advantages. This is the most intensive model, particularly if it includes daily instruction. Relationships between parents and children can be observed by professionals and immediate feedback provided. This is a good model for nonworking parents with preschool children. It is most effective for parent(s) with one child (not several, which are distracting). The family dynamic is most powerful since there is a high degree of parent and child interaction. If the program is school based, it introduces parents and children to this environment in a nonthreatening manner.

Disadvantages. The instructional site must be appropriate and furnished for both adult and child learners. Space must be found in a cooperating local school district, if the program is school based. Dual programming is needed, structured for two types of participants, parent and child. Transportation may have to be provided to bring families to sites on a regular basis. Both adult education and early childhood specialists are needed. It is a poor model for working adults or for adults who are housebound for any reason. If the parent has several children, child care must be arranged.

Examples: PACE (Kentucky); Kenan Family Trust Literacy Project. See Table 4 and the Appendix for details.

Type 2. Indirect Adults-Indirect Children

Adults and children participate in this model. An adult (who may or may not be a parent) and a child or several unrelated children attend together. A key characteristic is the promotion of literacy for enjoyment. Participation is less intensive and instruction is less formal. There is no sequential curriculum--rather, a series of literacy enrichment events is offered. For example, storytelling, read-alongs, book talks, and family and children's hours may be held on weekends or after school. Senior citizens or volunteer tutors from nearby colleges or organizations may read to neighborhood youngsters. Children of many ages are welcome, with their own parents or accompanied by friends or relatives. Families can attend intermittently, because programs are brief and supplementary. Adults may receive literacy tutoring for several hours per week, but formal classes are not provided on a daily basis. An

appreciation of books and literature is emphasized. Attendance is voluntary and the events informal. Working adults and school-aged children can participate, too, because programs can be during the day, after school, or on weekends. These programs are more likely to be intergenerational, but they may also serve families. Adults and children are the primary beneficiaries.

Advantages. These programs often, but not always, require short time commitments for adults and children since their objective is enjoyment. They may improve attitudes toward literacy if both parents are involved some or all of the time, since family dynamics are powerful. The model generally does not require full programming or permanent renovation of a site. It does not require permanent full-time professional adult basic education or early childhood education staff, although programs may have them. Unrelated elders and children can interact together.

Disadvantages. This model does not directly teach reading skills to adults or children in an intensive, sustained format. The program may or may not have professionals in either early childhood, reading development, or adult basic education involved at all, or they may be involved as consultants--the level of participant involvement may not be as intense as a Type 1 program.

Examples: Marin County Library, and Read Together programs; Stride Rite Intergenerational Day Care Program; Nissan Family Learning Centers and the FIEL program. The Appendix contains details.

Type 3. Direct Adults-Indirect Children

A key characteristic of this type is that Adults are the main target for service, and children do not participate regularly, if at all. Parents and other guardians and caregivers participate. It is thought that adults who become more literate positively influence their children's literacy interests and skills. The curriculum may include literacy or English language instruction for parents, and perhaps coaching in reading children's stories or other parent behaviors that assist children. Peer practice is used, often in workshop formats. There is no formal classroom instruction or long duration of participation, although the materials used may be structured and sequenced. Literacy instruction is directed at parents who may also participate in a number of other activities, including parenting instruction. These program may be developed for specific parents in specific situations, for example, those from similar ethnic backgrounds, or with similar interests (community college students) or environments (incarcerated mothers), or employees in the same organization. Parents are the primary beneficiaries, becoming more literate and aware of issues related to child development and literacy. Children are secondary beneficiaries, since their parents or caretakers become more able to help them.

Advantages. Adults are not distracted by the presence of children; parents can practice with each other and develop relationships with other parents. Parents can take materials home and work with children at home. Although parenting is discussed, there is no supervised interaction with children, so there may not be as much need for an early childhood specialist staff person. Persons can be trained to facilitate the workshops, which diminishes the need for an expert on the staff of the participating organization.

Disadvantages. There is no direct observation of the parent/adult-child interaction, only parent reports of what happens at home. Staff cannot tell how (or if) the

adult is being effective with the child. It may be that the adult/parent forgets what to do to improve literacy at home or the adult may continue literacy behaviors inappropriate to a growing child's needs.

Examples: Many Family English Literacy Programs; Parent Readers Program; Linking Home and School through Workplace Program. See the Appendix for details.

Type 4. Indirect Adults-Direct Children

Children are the primary beneficiaries in these programs and are involved directly as the main target for service. Preschool children may be taught prereading skills. In school children receive special reading instruction, often through special programs like Chapter I. Public school staff is most familiar with these programs. Parents may be asked to participate but are unlikely to receive literacy instruction for their own needs. The parents' degree of participation and effectiveness in Type 4 programs is, of course, related to their own skills and confidence. If either is low, their children may not benefit fully from the involvement. The adult program involves help for adults to help their children. Some may teach literacy skills to parents, but it is the child's literacy development that is primary. Adults are the secondary beneficiaries.

Advantages. These programs occur in schools and in preschool and after-school programs. Children are a captive audience in schools so programs in support of literacy can be integrated into regular class work, with teachers' participation. Parents are involved one or more times in short-term rallies or workshops and oriented to the program in which their child participates. Parents learn of their own importance in their child's literacy development. Materials are sent into the homes.

Disadvantages. The parents' own literacy may not be directly addressed, which is a lost opportunity. The parent may have a pattern of nonparticipation in school activities for cultural, economic, or family reasons, and thus not come to the school for the parent events. The child may not take home materials to the parents nor receive parental support for their efforts. There may be no one at home able to share in the child's excitement.

Examples: Preschool and elementary programs: Chrysler Running Start Programs. Details of several programs are in the Appendix.

Some Critical Research Questions

It is time to ask some penetrating questions about family literacy programs--research is lagging behind practice. The popular appeal of family literacy programs designed for adults and children runs ahead of the modest research available to substantiate their worth. Here are some key questions that need systematic exploration:

1. Which of the four generic program types are effective for specific groups of adults and children? The groups include unemployed and working parents, AFDC parents, single or teen parents, and families with preschool or school-aged children. Should programs serve cultural groups alone or in mixed groups? Is it better to separate parents by gender or to plan for mixed participation? Which is best, for whom, why, and when?

2. What key components (direct services and indirect support services) contribute to the effectiveness of each type? Are there some common components and some that are contextually specific? If so, what are they?

3. What are the problems faced by administrators and staff in conducting each type of program and what kinds of technical assistance are needed?

4. What outcome measures are appropriate for adults and for children for each model type? What kinds of evaluations are feasible, given the primitive nature of most programs and the lack of funding and expertise?

5. How can collaborations and partnerships between service providers (adult basic and early childhood education, libraries, public schools, associations, and corporations) in both formal and informal networks be developed and maintained to support family literacy?

6. How can family literacy programs be funded in a fair and effective way among multiple sectors? Are family literacy programs cost effective? By what measures?

The answers to these questions frame the agenda for key policy decisions in the design and funding of family and intergenerational literacy improvement for the year 2000.

Summary

This section outlines a classification system for four generic types of family literacy programs, based on the type of intervention used and the primary targets and beneficiaries of the intervention. A sample of programs, found in the Appendix, is classified according to the typology. Critical questions that need systematic investigation are identified. They form a base for research and development in this new field of study.

In the remaining chapter, recommendations are presented to support family and intergenerational literacy programs in three areas: the administrative, the methodological, and the conceptual.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are compiled from discussions with professionals involved with family and intergenerational literacy programs and from reports and articles. They address a diverse set of topics and are not prioritized.

Public Sector Administrative and Policy Support

- Provide for the dissemination of information. Establish regional clearinghouses to provide important information to public and private organizations that wish to develop family literacy programs. At a minimum, the clearinghouses should identify and catalog intergenerational and family literacy programs, with no special preference for particular models, through a joint database; create a dissemination network to provide information for technical assistance that includes materials and methods that work; and provide ongoing support through monthly newsletters or a computer hookup such as LitNet (Apple).

- Provide technical assistance. The clearinghouses should provide technical assistance and training and organize regional workshops, summer institutes, and conferences. If participants paid membership fees for service, the centers could be partially self-supporting. Five-year grants or contracts would ensure continuity of services.

- Increase coordination. The literacy service agencies at the federal and state level need coordination to increase the effectiveness of family literacy programs. Establish an advisory board composed of program personnel from adult basic education, the Even Start program, the libraries, and the family English literacy programs. Include staff from the Job Training Partnership Act, the Perkins Vocational Act, and the Family Support Act. This will strengthen informal linkages already in effect. Since several agencies and departments are supporting family literacy programs, cooperation at the federal level could be useful and informative to all. Replicate this increase in coordination at the state and local level. Further, encourage federal programs to integrate family literacy into current agendas in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and through the Office of Children and Youth.

- Focus special efforts on women in poverty. Target funds, including set-asides for services to special groups of women--minorities, teen mothers, single heads of households--and require state plans ensuring that such women are served. Provide adequate support services, including housing, health, transportation, and child care for infants and toddlers. Support targeted family literacy programs to prevent low literacy for mothers and preschool children.

- Organize professional programs. A new group of broadly trained specialists is needed. Introduce the philosophy and practice of family and intergenerational literacy in higher education programs where the preparation of teachers of both adults and children occurs and in schools of library science where librarians are prepared. Make training available to human resource developers in corporations and to union officials. Develop inservice training courses for staff and aides already at work in these programs.

- Increase funding for the Even Start Act. Increased federal support for literacy is needed in general, and in particular for Even Start. This act mandates parent and child activities as well as adult literacy and early childhood programs. It is comprehensive legislation and shows promise for supporting the development of sound programs suited to local needs. Staffs need, and will continue to need, technical assistance for their programs from adult basic education, early childhood, family support, and family education experts. Assistance with evaluation is critical, since Even Start is a new demonstration program in family literacy.

- Provide stable, long-term funding. Programs must have multiyear funding for maximum impact on particularly distressed families. Assurances of funding for 5 years should provide the time to establish a high quality program. Long-term funding, perhaps by agencies with common interests in the same families, should be considered, based on the quality of performance.

Private Sector

- Encourage partnerships. The public and private sector need to expand the number of projects they jointly support. Community-based organizations, educational agencies, higher education institutions, businesses, and unions need to be involved in the support, design, and delivery of family and intergenerational services.

- Expand workplace literacy programs. Current workplace education programs should include the improvement of family literacy as an objective. For basic education, short courses in book selection and reading to children can be integrated into the program. For those employees enrolled in higher level courses, the importance of parents in children's school achievement should be a priority interwoven into course objectives. Parenting education and child development courses should be subsidized as well as professional training courses.

- Provide corporate leadership. Corporations can take the lead in designing intergenerational care programs that recognize the special needs of working parents, both for children and elder care. Incentives are available to corporations to encourage them. Other corporations should follow the leadership examples of Stride Rite, Chrysler, and Nissan.

- Strengthen organizing efforts for female-dominated, low-wage jobs. Greater access must be provided for poor working women with limited literacy skills to combine job training with family literacy instruction. Wider Opportunities for Women, with its network of community-based organizations, provides models of well-designed programs to support low

income mothers as they achieve both objectives. The National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education is composed of more than 60 organizations dedicated to improving educational opportunities and equality for women. Its Literacy Task Force was established in 1987 to advocate programs and policies to increase women's and girls' access to literacy programs. Efforts like these should mobilize employers, policy makers, and legislators to improve the quality of support for women and girls at home and in the workplace.

Methodology

- **Improve program design and administration.** Mandate professional collaborations for planning and administering services. Many programs suffer from too little knowledge because they are initiated in one sector (adult basic, early childhood and bilingual education, libraries, corporations) They lack important information about research and appropriate materials. Family literacy practice is a new approach to literacy development. Families are culturally different, and programs span developmental ages. For this reason, both initial and ongoing staff training is necessary.

- **Improve program evaluation.** Recent developmental research confirms that interactions between parents and children are very complex. Efforts to determine how literacy is improved by family and intergenerational literacy programs test the limits of current evaluation technologies. Studies should adopt a polyadic approach to document changes in both adults and children. Further, evaluators must consider the cultural appropriateness of research instruments and methods. Environmental constraints and culturally specific ideologies powerfully affect how parents can and should interact with their children. Assessment must be culturally relevant, feasible, and tailored to the program type. It will be difficult to gauge the impacts of programs because causal relationships will be hard to determine. This fact should spur new evaluation techniques. Small gains must be considered significant.

Conceptualization

- **Standardize definitions.** Current practice labels programs of several types "family literacy" programs. Use a typology such as that suggested in this report to clarify program structure and thus define the range of possible services and the appropriate measurable impacts and outcomes.

- **Fund cross-disciplinary research.** Rethink the implications of theory, policy, and practice to stress the convergence of adults' and children's literacy development, which are presently distinct.

- **Encourage unified theories.** Explore the cognitive development of adults and children, seeking a unified theory that can guide practice. Research is needed on the development of the literacy of adults and children through cooperative learning, the strategies that enhance it, the conditions under which this occurs, the variations due to culture and social class, and the implications framed by family dynamics. These are contextual differences that have implications for the structure of programs. These differences also affect knowledge of the development of literacy in both adults and children.

- Fund carefully designed longitudinal studies. Use a subset of family and intergenerational literacy programs to explore different models. Particularly important at this stage are small-scale ethnographic studies of developing literacy in adult-child combinations in ethnically different home settings, in their community context. Although no two families are alike, patterns will emerge to inform policy and practice. Fine-grained studies in family literacy development with low literate adults and their children are a priority. We do not know enough about how such adults and children cope with literacy demands, although we know a great deal about advantaged families. Experienced adult basic education reading experts must collaborate with children's reading experts and with experts in sociology and anthropology to study families--working independently, they each have only limited experience.

- Fund creative ethnographic studies. Information about community child-rearing goals, attitudes, expectations and values, and ecological studies of child-rearing patterns in various subcultures and settings, is needed. This knowledge base is the foundation for interventions aimed at improving literacy and other family interactions.

- Coordinate services to families. As illustration, the programs described here are found in five sectors and appear to be parallel, targeted on the same or similar families, with similar sets of characteristics and in need of literacy help. Looking ahead, there is a need for convergence of efforts. Limited resources alone dictate a need for coordination of effort, and, effective programs seem to need this type of structure. Improved literacy alone cannot aid families in poverty.

What is needed are comprehensive models for service delivery to at-risk families that combine education including elementary, preschool and early childhood, adult basic education, and bilingual and minority programs. Such models should include appropriate health care and community service agencies, libraries, Family Support, and job training programs. This will require a massive overhaul of bureaucratic agencies and a complete rethinking of how services are delivered.

Lest we get discouraged by the impracticability of this suggestion, there are some examples in existence that try to do this on a small scale. Maryland has formed a partnership between the Department of Human Resources and several foundations to create an independent entity, Friends of the Family, to administer 11 Family Support Centers, providing a core set of services for children and adults in literacy and basic education, health, parenting, peer support activities, job preparation, and skill development to prepare for employment. Services are being provided to more than 3,000 individuals, with a budget of over $2 million in 1989 (Weiss, Hausman, and Seppanen 1988). Multidisciplinary coordinated projects such as these are pioneers in creative cross-disciplinary planning and administration to assist families in helping themselves and each other.

Conclusion

This paper has given an overview of a new trend in educational programs focused on the improvement of intergenerational and family literacy. Information is available to coordinate educational services to families, whether at home or at the workplace. Technology is available to supplement instructional programs. Enthusiastic and committed staff are at work, making programs a reality. These

components are necessary, but not sufficient.

It would be remiss to discuss literacy development alone without reference to the fact that it is only part of a larger set of economic and social challenges that affect a growing segment of our population. We have learned that many of these these ills are interconnected. The development of family literacy cannot occur in a vacuum. It is ideally set in a context of humane family policies that support families, not those that uncaringly set up barriers that diminish or interfere unnecessarily with family life.

Lawmakers and policy experts must understand the needs of families for stability and must act to help ensure this. Educators must themselves become advocates and join other educators, civil rights advocates, employers, and legislators in supporting public policy that protects and helps families. Together, we must continue to fight for just societies in which family needs for education, housing, health services, and a decent standard of living are family rights and where dignity and respect are accorded to adults and children, regardless of their literacy levels.

APPENDIX

Brief Program Descriptions Classified by Type

Kenan Trust Family Literacy Program

Parent and Child Education (PACE) Program

Family Intergenerational English Literacy Program

Stride Rite Corporation Intergenerational Day Care Program

Marin County Library Family Literacy Program

Carnegie Library Read Together Program

Nissan Corporation Family Learning Centers Program

Parents Reading Program

Linking Home and School through Workplace Program

Chrysler Corporation Running Start Program

Books and Beyond Program

Literacy/Curriculum Connection Program

Model:	Type 1
Program Name:	Kenan Trust Family Literacy Program
Sponsor:	Kenan Charitable Trust
Collaborators:	Local school districts
Target Populations:	Parents, guardians, and caretakers without high school diplomas, with 3- and 4-year-old children
Goals:	To encourage the active role of parents as "first teachers"; to improve the nurturing relationships of parent and child; to prepare parents as education models for their children; to increase the developmental skills of preschool children; to integrate parents into the school setting
Key Components:	Parent time (for parent education discussion); Parent and Child Together Time (supervised activity); adult literacy instruction; early childhood cognitively oriented program; contextual learning and teaching within the family; comprehensive services for families; strong staff training in ABE and ECE; team approach to teaching; intensive 3 days per week for 6 hours per day, for 9 months; transportation and meals provided
Impacts:	Parents report a gain in independent functioning and greater sense of control over their lives; adults at relatively high level of skills able to meet their educational needs; children demonstrate marked improvement in language, independence, decision making, and pre-academic performance
Contact:	Sharon Darling, President National Center for Family Literacy One Riverfront Plaza, Suite 608 Louisville, KY 40202 (502) 584-1133
Source:	Barbara Bush Foundation (1989)

Model:	Type 1
Program Name:	Parent and Child Education (PACE)
Sponsors:	Kentucky State Education Department
Collaborators:	35 local school districts throughout the state
Target Populations:	Parents lacking a high school diploma, with 3- and 4-year-old children
Goals:	To help adults acquire basic skills, child care skills, and high school certification; to improve parents' attitudes toward education; to promote active involvement of parents in children's preschool education; to prepare preschool youngsters for success in developing learning skills
Key Components:	Parents and children attend together in public schools; programs operate under direct supervision of public schools; early childhood training and curriculum provide a consistent model for trainers, teachers, and parents; nationally validated cognitively oriented programs for children and adults; transportation and meals provided for parents and children; stipend provided to parents for program completion for purchase of children's educational materials for home use.
Impacts:	Adults achieve high school certification; measures of academic achievement show significant increases in basic skills; adults involved in further education and training; children better prepared for school
Contact :	Jeanne Heberle, PACE Coordinator Division of Community Instruction Kentucky Department of Education Capitol Plaza Tower Frankfort, KY 40601 (502) 564-2117
Source:	Barbara Bush Foundation (1989)

Model:	Type 2
Program Name:	Family Intergenerational English Literacy (FIEL)
Sponsor:	El Paso Community College
Collaborators:	El Paso schools
Target Populations:	Limited English proficiency families with at-risk children; focus on kindergartners and children in first grade in Hispanic communities
Goals:	To bring parents and children together to improve literacy skills of parents and children; to enhance the ability of LEP parents to assist in their children's literacy development
Key Components:	A 12-week program in family literacy with weekly parent-child classes; bilingual staff; community liaisons; innovative classroom management; home activities; large and small group activities; storytelling and storybook activities; language development; participants can repeat program; college links attract staff and graduate students to work in program; bilingual staff with professional backgrounds; teacher training
Impacts:	Program served 250 families in 1989-90; 32 classrooms in 8 elementary schools; ongoing formative observations and ethnographic studies suggest changes in attitudes and family literacy patterns
Contact:	Dr. Betsy Quintero, Director Project FIEL El Paso Community College P.O. Box 20500 El Paso, TX (915) 594-2000
Source:	FIEL program descriptions; Quintero (1987)

Model:	Type 2
Program Name:	Stride Rite Intergenerational Day Care Center
Sponsor:	Stride Rite Corporation
Collaborators:	Wheelock College; Somerville-Cambridge Elder Services, Inc.
Target Populations:	Intergenerational program for youngsters and elders; mixed ages: 55 children (15 months-6 years); 24 elders (over 60 years), for employees and low income residents of the communty (half the slots for community residents)
Goals:	To provide intergenerational day care services for children and elders; to promote employer-sponsored child care; to maintain community involement; to promote intergenerational understanding; to provide research and training site; to study social effects and policy implications of work-based intergenerational day care
Key Components:	A pioneer project, mixed-age, on-site program in specially designed, home-like setting, with common and separate spaces for both ages; administered by a qualified professional staff and volunteers; state licensed center; open 10 hours per day; meals provided; joint and separate activities for each group; program meets physical, social, and intellectual needs of each group through special curriculum that fosters regular daily contact between elders and children; reading/writing of stories, table games, holiday celebrations, cooking and eating, arts and crafts, and field trips; provides seminars periodically for business executives to explore child and elder care options; research agenda; training site for graduate students; research site for college faculty; workshops for managers, staff, families, and local community
Impacts:	Research findings are used to develop college curricula and training materials for professional intergenerational caregivers and specialists; curriculum development on aging and life-span issues for teachers at preschool, elementary, and high school levels; to develop a blueprint for other organizations interested in the Stride Rite model as a model public-private partnership
Contact:	Kathryn Leibold, Director 5 Cambridge Center Cambridge, MA 02142
Source:	Hiatt (1987); Leibold (1990)

Model:	Type 2
Program Name:	Marin County Library Family Literacy Program
Sponsor:	Marin County Public Library
Collaborators:	Volunteer adult literacy tutoring program; Public school
Target Populations:	Low literate non-English speaking adults, primarily Hispanic farm workers in a rural area, and their children
Goals:	To improve the English speaking, reading, and writing skills of Hispanic adult learners; to bring the Hispanic and Anglo communities together to share their skills and culture; to create positive links between home, school, and library
Key Components:	Parents and children served by monthly Bookmobile with over 3,000 volumes; bilingual storytimes; home literacy tutoring for adults; bilingual staff and materials for home use; monthly parent meetings; back to school nights; bilingual math workshops; amnesty and citizenship classes
Impacts:	Facilitation of communication between parents, library, and school; between parents and teachers; more than 75 non-English speaking families served
Contact:	Kris Brown Marin County Library Family Literacy Program Civic Center San Rafael, CA 94903 (415) 499-7473
Source:	McIvor (1990)

Model:	Type 2
Program Name:	Beginning with Books, Read Together Program
Sponsor:	Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh
Collaborators:	Volunteer adult literacy tutoring organization; Library
Target Populations:	Low income, low literate parents and their children
Goals:	To promote reading as an important part of everday life; to help parents read to their children and help with their homework; to provide a rich, literacy enhancing experience for children
Key Components:	Read Together Program provides story book reading sessions to children by volunteers when parents are attending tutoring; free bus transportation; book and tape borrowing; library memberships for families; training for volunteers (6-month commitment) who are recruited, trained, and matched one-on-one with a child
Impacts:	Anecdotal evidence suggests parents and adults are enthusiastic about service received by their children; positive effects on children's social and emotional growth; parents have stronger commitment to their own tutoring; parents report children's enthusiasm
Contact:	The Carnegie Library Homewood Branch 7101 Hamilton Avenue Pittsburgh, PA 15208
Source:	McIvor (1990)

Model:	Type 2
Program Name:	Nissan Family Learning Centers
Sponsor:	Nissan Motor Corporation in the USA
Collaborators:	Nissan Motor Company; Los Angeles Unified School District
Target Populations:	Children and adults in neighborhoods near inner city schools, for people of all ages
Goals:	To establish three Family Learning Centers in public schools; to promote basic skills of reading and writing; and to enhance community relations
Key Components:	Nissan sponsors the purchase and installation of equipment and training of teachers for three computer centers in elementary schools; instruction uses software Writing to Read and Vale (Spanish) for children; Principles of the Alphabet Learning System (PALS) program for adults; orientation for parents; teacher and principal training; adult education is provided by two adult high schools
Impacts:	Evaluation is a part of each software program
Contact:	Ginette Daniels P.O. Box 191 Gardena, CA 90248-0191 (213) 719-5662 or Adam Lazarus (213) 930-0811
Source:	Daniels (1990); Nissan Motor Corporation in USA press release and program description

Model:	Type 3
Program Name:	Parents Reading Program
Sponsor:	Various, in school districts, at a community college, at worksites
Collaborators:	Public and private agencies
Target Populations:	Adults interested in forming a reading relationship with a child; community college students in remedial reading classes; parents of school-aged children; employees attending the Work in America, Inc. workplace education program
Key Components:	Workshop format, with refreshments; uses children's literature as instructional material, linking student and parent role; uses variety of fiction and nonfiction books; peer practice; appropriate book selection techniques
Impacts:	Improvement in literacy environment in the home; parents and children are doing reading activities at home; more parental involvement in children's schooling; more use of libraries; parents as literacy resources for their children
Contact:	Dr. Ruth Handel Montclair State College Upper Montclair, NJ 07043 Dr. Ellen Goldsmith New York City Technical College/CUNY Brooklyn, NY 11201
Source:	Barbara Bush Foundation (1989); Handel and Goldsmith (1988a, 1989)

Model:	Type 3
Program Name:	Linking Home and School through Workplace
Sponsor:	Work in America Institute, Inc. (WIA) and MacArthur Foundation
Collaborators:	Businesses and agencies
Target Populations:	Employees at work sites who have children who are in preschool through junior high
Goals:	To help employees improve their children's learning and achievement in basic skills; to enhance the relationship of parents and their children; to introduce employees to workplace education and basic skills courses for themselves; to educate the next generation of workers and the employees themselves; to institutionalize the program at the workplace
Key Components:	A stand-alone educational program for employees, with a family-oriented curriculum, developed by different authors, in five content areas: Family Science--how to make science fun for children; Family Reading--how to read aloud to children and select books; Family Math--about math, with games; Critical TV Watching--thinking critically when watching TV; and Parent's Q-and-A Library--tips to parents with school-aged children; employers can purchase and use one component and then add others; parents learn to do activities at the workplace and then do them at home with their children; three 1-hour workshops at 1- or 2-week intervals; program is administered at workplace by specially trained inhouse persons from human resources, Employee Assistance Personnel, work and family programs; WIA provides 1-day train-the-trainers workshops for each component, including marketing and recruitment strategies, provides and or recommends required course materials, and suggests appropriate implementation strategies; each component has a family orientation; employees who participate at no cost may be offered release time or attend after working hours, depending on the site.
Impacts:	Field tests underway at 12 workplace sites in 1990, in corporations, unions, and agencies such as Departments of Labor and Mental Retardation in NY; about 150 employees participated in all, in groups of 6-12 people; training-of-trainers by WIA at intervals
Contact:	Jerri Darling, Program Director 700 White Plains Road Scarsdale, NY (914) 472-9600
Source:	Work in America Institute program materials and press release

Model:	Type 4
Program Name:	Running Start
Sponsor:	Chrysler Corporation
Collaborators:	Reading Is Fundamental; participating school districts
Target Populations:	First graders (and their families) in cities where Chrysler operates plants or facilities: Syracuse, NY, Newark, DE, Huntsville, AL, Toledo, OH, Kokomo, IN, Savannah, GA, Phoenix, AZ, Auburn Hills, MI, and Highland Park, MI. Program expects to reach 100,000 children between 1989-92.
Goals:	To introduce children to the joys and benefits of reading; to give children a "running start"; to encourage children to become life-long readers at home and in school; to help parents help their children; to polish the basic skills of the future work force
Key Components:	Children are encouraged to read, or have read to them, 21 books; activities and resource materials for teachers; free books for children and classrooms; Read-Along activities challenge contests; Reading Rallies to give parents practical tips to help children read and take-home materials.
Impacts:	Benefits expected primarily for children, and for parents and teachers
Contact:	James E. Kenyon, New Relations Manager Chrysler Corporation 12000 Chrysler Drive Highland Park, MI 48288-1919 (313) 956-4664 Virginia J. Heland, Education Services Reading Is Fundamental Smithsonian Institution 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20560 (202) 287-3003
Source:	Business Council for Effective Literacy (1990b); Chrysler Corporation and Reading Is Fundamental program materials; Heland (1990)

Model:	Type 4
Program Name:	Books and Beyond
Sponsor:	National Diffusion Network, Solano Beach School District
Collaborators:	A wide variety of adoptions by schools throughout the United States
Target Populations:	Children in kindergarten and grade one; elementary school children
Goals:	To increase the amount of reading done by children and decrease the amount of TV watching
Key Components:	"Reading Marathons" for children, teachers, and principals with results publicly displayed; grade one requires reading 120 books; for upper elementary children, 2,400 pages; children read independently or together in pairs; small prizes reward achievement; a full-school ceremony for parents and children to recognize those who successfully completed the course; critical TV viewing is taught; children who complete the marathon can begin again
Impacts:	In an early evaluation (1980-1982), treatment children showed significant gains on a standardized test; parents, teachers, children, and librarians were surveyed; parents report more reading and less TV viewing; teachers report increased interest in books.
Contact:	Ellie Tapolovac, Ann Collins Solano Beach School District 309 North Rios Solano Beach, CA 92075 (619) 755-8000
Source:	Dickinson (1988)

Model:	Type 4
Program Name:	Literacy/Curriculum Connection
Sponsor:	Massachusetts State Department of Education, Chapter 188, Massachusetts Education Reform Law
Collaborators:	Cambridge Public Schools and State Department Education
Target Populations:	Parents and their young children; preschool and kindergarten teachers in 23 Cambridge preschools and public school kindergartens
Goals:	To present an early childhood program designed to bring together parents, their children, and kindergarten and preschool teachers; to encourage sharing the enjoyment of literacy with young children; to make print an exciting part of children's lives; to encourage successful transitions to school
Key Components:	Direct services to children, including Shared Reading, using whole language approach; home reading program encourage parents to write comments about books, and their children's progress; teacher visitation; staff development; cultural materials development project; two school and family centers for borrowing books and materials; community forums on early childhood and cultural diversity; workshops for parents; demonstration classrooms; training of teachers; newsletter
Impacts:	Available from project coordinators
Contact:	Lynne Hall, Shelli Wortes Project Coordinators Cambridge School Department 159 Thorndyke Street Cambridge, MA 02141 (617) 498-9200, Ext. 9518
Source:	Hall and Wortes (1989)

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Date Filmed
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